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Folder Title:

Somalia Files, 1992-1993 [loose] [15]

Staff Office-Individual:

Transnational Threats-Clarke, Richard

Original OA/ID Number:

3827

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Quick Reaction Force (2 pages)	03/09/1993	P1/b(1)
002. paper	Command of Headquarters Support Forces in Somalia During UNOSOM II (1 page)	03/09/1993	P1/b(1)
003. chart	Forces Currently in Somalia (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
004. chart	Other Forces Planning to Participate in Somalia (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
005a. timeline	Somalia Strategy Timeline (1 page)	00/00/1992	P1/b(1)
005b. chart	[Duplicate of 003] (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
005c. chart	[Duplicate of 004] (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
006. paper	Medium Term Political Strategy in Somalia (5 pages)	00/00/1993	P1/b(1)
007. cable	Re: Demobilization/Encampment of Militias (2 pages)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)
008. report	Re: [Somalia] (1 page)	01/25/1993	P1/b(1)
009. report	Re: [Somalia] (8 pages)	01/12/1993	P1/b(1)
010. memo	Re: Presidential Review Directive XX-93: Somalia (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

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2012-0659-F

ke4220

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM, Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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UN Security Council Resolutions on Somalia

Resolution 733 (January 23, 1992)

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Having heard the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia and commending the initiative taken by him in the humanitarian field,

Gravely alarmed at the rapid deterioration of the situation in Somalia and the heavy loss of human life and widespread material damage resulting from the conflict in the country and aware of its consequences on the stability and peace in the region,

Concerned that the continuation of this situation constitutes, as stated in the report of the Secretary-General, a threat to international peace and security,

Recalling its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling also the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing its appreciation to the international and regional organizations that have provided assistance to the populations affected by the conflict and deploring that personnel of these organizations have lost their lives in the exercise of their humanitarian tasks,

Taking note of the appeals addressed to the parties by the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic

Conference on 16 December 1991, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity on 18 December 1991 (S/23469) and the League of Arab States on 5 January 1992 (S/23448),

1. *Takes note* of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia and expresses its concern with the situation prevailing in that country;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General immediately to undertake the necessary actions to increase humanitarian assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to the affected population in all parts of Somalia in liaison with the other international humanitarian organizations and to this end to appoint a coordinator to oversee the effective delivery of this assistance;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in cooperation with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, immediately to contact all parties involved in the conflict, to seek their commitment to the cessation of hostilities to permit the humanitarian assistance to be distributed, to promote a cease-fire and compliance therewith, and to assist in the process of a political settlement of the conflict in Somalia;

4. *Strongly urges* all parties to the conflict immediately to cease hostilities and agree to a cease-fire and to promote the process of reconciliation and of political settlement in Somalia;

5. *Decides*, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in

Somalia immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Security Council decides otherwise;

6. *Calls on* all States to refrain from any action which might contribute to increasing tension and to impeding or delaying a peaceful and negotiated outcome to the conflict in Somalia, which would permit all Somalis to decide upon and to construct their future in peace;

7. *Call upon* all parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General to this end and to facilitate the delivery by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations of humanitarian assistance to all those in need of it, under the supervision of the coordinator;

8. *Urges* all parties to take all the necessary measures to ensure the safety of personnel sent to provide humanitarian assistance, to assist them in their tasks and to ensure full respect for the rules and principles of international law regarding the protection of civilian populations;

9. *Calls upon* all States and international organizations to contribute to the efforts of humanitarian assistance to the population in Somalia;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on this matter;

11. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

VOTE: Unanimous (15-0).



Resolution 746
(March 17, 1992)

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/23693),

Taking note of the signing of the cease-fire agreements in Mogadiscio on 3 March 1992, including agreements for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire through a United Nations monitoring mission,

Deeply regretting that the factions have not yet abided by their commitment to implement the cease-fire and thus have still not permitted the unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance to the people in need in Somalia,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind that the factors described in paragraph 76 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23693) must be taken into account,

Cognizant of the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Underlining the importance which it attaches to the international, regional and non-governmental organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continuing to provide humanitarian and other relief assistance to the people of Somalia under difficult circumstances,

Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,

1. *Takes note with appreciation* of the report of the Secretary-General;

2. *Urges* the Somali factions to honour their commitment under the cease-fire agreements of 3 March 1992;

3. *Urges* all the Somali factions to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to facilitate the delivery by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations of humanitarian assistance to all those in need of it, under the supervision of the coordinator mentioned in resolution 733 (1992);

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to pursue his humanitarian efforts in Somalia and to use all the resources at his disposal, including those of the relevant United Nations agencies, to address urgently the critical needs of the affected population in Somalia;

5. *Appeals* to all Member States and to all humanitarian organizations to contribute to and to cooperate with these humanitarian relief efforts;

6. *Strongly supports* the Secretary-General's decision urgently to dispatch a technical team to Somalia, accompanied by the coordinator, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraphs 73 and 74 of his report (S/23693) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council on this matter;

7. *Requests* that the technical team also develop a high priority plan to establish mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance;

8. *Calls on* all parties, movements and factions in Mogadiscio in particular, and in Somalia in general, to respect fully the security and safety of the technical team and the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and to guarantee their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadiscio and other parts of Somalia;

9. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General of the United Nations to continue, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, his consultations with all Somali parties, movements and factions towards the convening of a conference for national reconciliation and unity in Somalia;

10. *Calls upon* all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

11. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

VOTE: Unanimous (15-0).

Resolution 751
(April 24, 1992)

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992 and 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/23829 and Add.1 and 2),

Taking note of the signing of the cease-fire agreements in Mogadishu on 3 March 1992, including agreements for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire through a United Nations monitoring mission,

Taking note also of the signing of letters of agreement in Mogadishu, Hargeisa and Kismayo on the mechanism for monitoring the cease-fire and arrangements for the equitable and effective distribution of humanitarian assistance in and around Mogadishu,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Cognizant of the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Underlining the importance which it attaches to the international, regional and non-governmental organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continuing to provide humanitarian and other relief assistance to the people of Somalia under difficult circumstances,

Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 21 April 1992 (S/23829) and Add.1 and Add.2);

2. Decides to establish under its authority, and in support of the Secretary-General in accordance with paragraph 7 below, a United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM);

3. Requests the Secretary-General immediately to deploy a unit of 50 United Nations Observers to monitor the cease-fire in Mogadishu in accordance with paragraphs 24 to 26 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23829);

4. Agrees, in principle, also to establish under the overall direction of the Secretary-General's Special Representative a United Nations security force to be deployed as soon as possible to perform the functions described in paragraphs 27-29 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23829);

5. Further requests the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the parties in Mogadishu regarding the proposed United Nations security force and, in light of those consultations, to submit his further recommendations to the Security Council for its decision as soon as possible;

6. Welcomes the intention expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 64 of his report (S/23829) to appoint a Special Representative for Somalia to provide overall direction of United Nations activities in Somalia and to assist him in his endeavours to reach a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Somalia;

7. Requests the Secretary-General as part of his continuing mission in Somalia to facilitate an immediate and effective cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of a cease-fire throughout the country in order to promote the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to provide urgent humanitarian assistance;

8. Welcomes the cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in resolving the problem in Somalia;

9. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country in order to promote the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to continue as a matter of priority his consultations with all Somali parties, movements and factions towards the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia in close cooperation with the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference;

11. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) to seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the embargo imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

(b) to consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and in that context to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;

(c) to recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia and provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

12. Notes with appreciation the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to Somalia, particularly to Mogadishu;

13. Calls upon the international community to support, with financial and other resources, the implementation of the 90-day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia;

14. Urges all parties concerned in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect of the security and safety of the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

15. Calls upon all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the Implementation of this resolution;

16. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

VOTE: Unanimous (15-0).

Resolution 767 (July 27, 1992)

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992 and 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/24343),

Considering the letter of the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council informing him that all the parties in Mogadishu have agreed to the deployment of the fifty military observers, and that the advance party of the observers arrived in Mogadishu on 5 July 1992 and that the rest of the observers arrived in the mission area on 23 July 1992 (S/24179),

Deeply concerned about the availability of arms and ammunition in the hands of civilians and the proliferation of armed banditry throughout Somalia,

Alarmed by the sporadic outbreak of hostilities in several parts of Somalia leading to continued loss of life and destruction of property, and putting at risk the personnel of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other international humanitarian organizations, as well as disrupting their operations,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Recognizing that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Somalia is an important element in the effort of the Council to restore international peace and security in the area,

Responding to the urgent calls by the parties in Somalia for the international community to take measures in Somalia to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Noting the Secretary-General's proposals for a comprehensive decentralized zonal approach in the United Nations involvement in Somalia,

Cognizant that the success of such an approach requires the cooperation of all parties, movements and factions in Somalia,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 22 July 1992 (S/24343);

2. Requests the Secretary-General to make full use of all available means and arrangements, including the mounting of an urgent airlift operation, with a view to facilitating the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations in accelerating the provision of humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia, threatened by mass starvation;

3. Urges all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected

population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect of the security and safety of the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

4. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to the urgent development of the United Nations security personnel called for in paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution 751 (1992), and otherwise assist in the general stabilization of the situation in Somalia. In the absence of such cooperation, the Security Council does not exclude other measures to deliver humanitarian assistance to Somalia;

5. Reiterates its appeal to the international community to provide adequate financial and other resources for humanitarian efforts in Somalia;

6. Encourages the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to all regions of Somalia;

7. Appeals to all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to extend full cooperation to the military observers and to take measures to ensure their security;

8. Requests the Secretary-General, as part of his continuing efforts in Somalia, to promote an immediate and effective cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of a cease-fire throughout the country in order to facilitate the urgent delivery of humanitarian assistance and the process of reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

9. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country;

10. Stresses the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo of all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of its resolution 733 (1992);

11. Welcomes the cooperation between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in resolving the situation in Somalia;

12. Approves the Secretary-General's proposal to establish four operational zones in Somalia as part of the consolidated United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM);

13. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that his Special Representative for Somalia is provided with all the necessary support services to enable him to effectively carry out his mandate;

14. Strongly supports the Secretary-General's decision urgently to dispatch a technical team to Somalia, under the overall direction of the Special Representative, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraph 64 of his report (S/24343) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council on this matter;

15. Affirms that all officials of the United Nations and all experts on mission for the United Nations in Somalia enjoy the privileges and immunities provided for in the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations of 1946 and in any other relevant instruments and that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia are required to allow them full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to continue urgently his consultations with all parties, movements and factions in Somalia towards the convening of a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference;

17. Calls upon all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

18. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

VOTE: Unanimous (15-0)

Resolution 775
August 28, 1992)

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia (S/23445),

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992 and 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/24480),

Deeply concerned about the availability of arms and ammunition and the proliferation of armed banditry throughout Somalia,

Alarmed by the continued sporadic outbreak of hostilities in several parts of Somalia leading to continued loss of life and destruction of property, and putting at risk the personnel of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and other international humanitarian organizations, as well as disrupting their operations,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and concerned that the situation in Somalia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Welcoming the ongoing efforts by the United Nations organizations as well as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), non-governmental organizations and States to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia,

Welcoming in particular the initiatives to provide relief through airlift operations,

Convinced that no durable progress will be achieved in the absence of an overall political solution in Somalia,

Taking note in particular of paragraph 24 of the report of the Secretary-General,

1. *Takes note* with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of 24 August 1992 (S/24480) on the findings of the technical team and the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained therein;

2. *Invites* the Secretary-General to establish four zone headquarters as proposed in paragraph 31 of the Secretary-General's report;

3. *Authorizes* the increase in strength of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and the subsequent deployment as recommended in paragraph 37 of the Secretary-General's report;

4. *Welcomes* the decision of the Secretary-General to increase substantially the airlift operation to areas of priority attention;

5. *Calls upon* all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to the urgent deployment of the United Nations security personnel called for in paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution 751 (1992) and as recommended in paragraph 37 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. *Welcomes* also the material and logistical support from a number of States and urges that the airlift operation be effectively coordinated by the United Nations as described in paragraphs 17 to 21 of the report of the Secretary-General;

7. *Urges* all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia and reiterates its call for the full respect of the security and safety of the personnel of these organizations and the guarantee of their complete freedom of movement in and around Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia;

8. *Reiterates* its appeal to the international community to provide adequate financial and other resources for humanitarian efforts in Somalia;

9. *Encourages* ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations including the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-

governmental organizations to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to all regions of Somalia and underlines the importance of coordination between these efforts;

10. *Requests* also the Secretary-General to continue, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, his efforts to seek a comprehensive political solution to the crisis in Somalia;

11. *Calls upon* all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately to cease hostilities and to maintain a cease-fire throughout the country;

12. *Stresses* the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, as decided in paragraph 5 of its resolution 733 (1992);

13. *Calls upon* all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

14. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter until a peaceful solution is achieved.

VOTE: Unanimous (15-0).

Resolution 794
(December 3, 1992)

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 751 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992 and 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992,

Recognizing the unique character of the present situation in Somalia and mindful of its deteriorating, complex and extraordinary nature, requiring an immediate and exceptional response,

Determining that the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being created to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for the quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Noting the efforts of the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, and in particular the proposal made by its Chairman at the forty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly for the organization of an international conference on Somalia, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other regional agencies and arrangements to promote reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to address the humanitarian needs of the people of that country,

Commending the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations and of non-governmental organizations and of States to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Responding to the urgent calls from Somalia for the international community to take measures to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Expressing grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including reports of violence and threats of violence against personnel participating lawfully in impartial humanitarian relief activities; deliberate attacks on non-combatants, relief consignments and vehicles, and medical and relief facilities; and impeding the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population,

Dismayed by the continuation of conditions that impede the delivery of humanitarian supplies to destinations within Somalia, and in particular reports of looting of relief supplies destined for starving people, attacks on aircraft and ships bringing in humanitarian relief supplies, and attacks on the Pakistani UNOSOM contingent in Mogadishu,

Taking note with appreciation of the letters of the Secretary-General of 24 November 1992 (S/24859) and of 29 November 1992 (S/24868),

Sharing the Secretary-General's assessment that the situation in Somalia is intolerable and that it has become necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort in Somalia, and that UNOSOM's existing course would not in present circumstances be an adequate response to the tragedy in Somalia,

Determined to establish as soon as possible the necessary conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Somalia, in conformity with resolutions 751 (1992) and 767 (1992),

Noting the offer by Member States aimed at establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible,

Determined further to restore peace, stability and law and order with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at national reconciliation in Somalia, and encouraging the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue and intensify their work at the national and regional levels to promote these objectives,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their own country,

1. *Reaffirms* its demand that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease hostilities, maintain a cease-fire throughout the country, and cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as well as with the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below in order to promote the process of relief distribution, reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

2. *Demands* that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations,

its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia;

3. *Also demands* that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to ensure the safety of United Nations and all other personnel engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below;

4. *Further demands* that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law including from actions such as those described above;

5. *Strongly condemns* all violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including in particular the deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population, and affirms that those who commit or order the commission of such acts will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts;

6. *Decides* that the operations and the further deployment of the 3,500 personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) authorized by paragraph 3 of resolution 775 (1992) should proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General in the light of his assessment of conditions on the ground; and requests him to keep the Council informed and to make such recommendations as may be appropriate for the fulfillment of its mandate where conditions permit;

7. *Endorses* the recommendation by the Secretary-General in his letter of 29 November 1992 (S/24868) that action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be taken in order to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible;

8. *Welcomes* the offer by a Member State described in the Secretary-General's letter to the Council of 29 November 1992 (S/24868) concerning the establishment of an operation to create such a secure environment;

9. *Welcomes* also offers by other Member States to participate in that operation;

10. *Acting* under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Secretary-General and Member States cooperating to implement the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above to use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia;

11. *Calls* on all Member States which are in a position to do so to provide military forces and to make additional contributions, in cash or in kind, in accordance with paragraph 10 above and requests the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which the contributions, where appropriate, could be channelled to the States or operations concerned;

12. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General and the Member States concerned to make the necessary

arrangements for the unified command and control of the forces involved, which will reflect the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General and the Member States acting under paragraph 10 above to establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces;

14. *Decides* to appoint an ad hoc commission composed of members of the Security Council to report to the Council on the implementation of this resolution;

15. *Invites* the Secretary-General to attach a small UNOSOM liaison staff to the Field Headquarters of the unified command;

16. *Acting* under Chapters VII and VIII of the Charter, calls upon States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, to use such measures as may be necessary to ensure strict implementation of paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

17. *Requests* all States, in particular those in the region, to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken by States, nationally or

through regional agencies or arrangements, pursuant to this and other relevant resolutions;

18. *Requests* the Secretary-General and, as appropriate, the States concerned to report to the Council on a regular basis, the first such report to be made no later than fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution and the attainment of the objective of establishing a secure environment so as to enable the Council to make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations;

19. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a plan to the Council initially within fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution to ensure that UNOSOM will be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command;

20. *Invites* the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Somalia;

21. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

VOTE: Unanimous (15-0). ■

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THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

Report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of
operative paragraphs 18 and 19 of resolution 794 (1992)

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of operative paragraphs 18 and 19 of resolution 794 of 3 December 1992. In these paragraphs, the Security Council:

~~"Requests~~ the Secretary-General and, as appropriate, the States concerned to report to the Council on a regular basis, the first such report to be made no later than fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution, on the implementation of this resolution and the attainment of the objective of establishing a secure environment so as to enable the Council to make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations;

~~Requests~~ the Secretary-General to submit a plan to the Council initially within fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution to ensure that UNOSOM will be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command;"

2. Part I of this report contains a factual description of the action taken up to 18 December 1992 to implement resolution 794 (1992). I had intended to include in that Part a report on the military operations of the unified command (now referred to as the "Unified Task Force"). However, on 17 December 1992, the Permanent Representative of the United States of America sent a letter to the President of the Security Council containing a report "... on the activities of the Unified Task Force directed towards the implementation of that resolution." The letter has been circulated as document S/24976.

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Commander, I authorized the deployment of about 100 additional personnel to strengthen UNOSOM's Headquarters.

7. The main activities currently carried out by the UNOSOM military component are as follows:

- (a) UNOSOM has deployed two companies of its infantry battalion to Mogadishu international airport, where they are working with the Unified Task Force to maintain security;
- (b) movement control is provided for United Nations flights at the airport;
- (c) escorts are provided for all UNOSOM personnel;
- (d) a liaison team has been deployed to Unified Task Force Headquarters, in accordance with operative paragraph 15 of resolution 794 (1992);
- (e) food convoys are escorted within the city of Mogadishu.

Implementation of the operation to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations

8. As already stated, a report by the United States authorities has been circulated in document S/24976.

9. With the deployment of the Unified Task Force, the United Nations and other relief organizations are expected to implement fully their humanitarian programmes. They will also extend humanitarian assistance to areas which hitherto have been inaccessible due to security constraints. In that context, UNOSOM will enhance its capacity to discharge fully its

coordination responsibilities as well as to take the lead in extending relief assistance to all parts of Somalia.

Establishment of a fund for contributions

10. The Fund requested by the Security Council in paragraph 11 of resolution 794 (1992), to be known as "Trust Fund for Somalia - Unified Command" has been established by the Secretariat. An initial target figure has been set at \$480 million. A general appeal for voluntary contributions has been issued to all Member States by the Controller. I am coordinating my fund-raising efforts with the Governments of Japan and the United States, who are working in partnership to ensure that we attain our goal. This active fund raising campaign will include special appeals to Heads of State and Government of selected countries. As of 18 December 1992, pledges to the Fund have been made as follows:

Finland:	\$70,000
Japan:	\$100,000,000
Philippines:	\$5,000
Saudi Arabia	<u>\$10,000,000</u>
Total	\$110,075,000

Saudi Arabia is also contributing troops to the Unified Task Force. I shall keep the Security Council informed on further developments.

Mechanisms for coordination

11. The following mechanisms for coordination have been established:

At United Nations Headquarters:

(a) a policy group on Somalia, chaired by the Secretary-General. This group currently meets twice or three times a

week and at least once a week with senior representatives of the United States Government to review the progress of the operation, composition of the Force, funding, and planning for the future role of UNOSOM and the transition to continued peace-keeping operations;

(b) an operational task force (chaired by the Assistant Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, Mr. Kofi Annan), comprising representatives from the Secretariat departments concerned. This group meets at least once a day and representatives of the United States attend its meetings several times a week;

(c) a cell in the Department of Peace-keeping Operations which maintains contact with UNOSOM 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

At UNOSOM Headquarters, Mogadishu:

(a) my Special Representative, Mr. Kittani, and the Force Commander, General Shaheen, are working closely with the Commander of the Unified Task Force, General Johnson, and with the United States Special Envoy, Ambassador Oakley, in order to ensure coordination of the activities of the two Forces. Much of the detailed planning of the eventual transition to peace-keeping operations will take place in Mogadishu and, as already noted, UNOSOM Headquarters is being strengthened for this purpose;

(b) a small UNOSOM liaison staff has been attached to United Task Force Headquarters, as already described above, and has secure communications with United Nations Headquarters.

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12. Several of the Member States which are cooperating with the United States in the Unified Task Force have asked to participate in discussions with myself and my staff about the current operations of the Force and planning for the transition to continued peace-keeping operations. I am therefore initiating regular meetings to which all states participating in the Force will be invited.

Continued efforts to achieve a political settlement

13. Since the adoption of resolution 794 (1992) I have continued my efforts to achieve a political settlement, believing it essential that such efforts should proceed in parallel with the establishment of a secure environment in Somalia. Progress on the political front is a necessary condition for the United Nations to be able to assist Somalia in launching the economic and social programmes for rehabilitation and reconstruction which will be needed to support post-conflict peace-building. In a letter of 8 December 1992 to President Bush I described my vision of a division of labour between the United Nations and the United States in the following terms:

"The United States has undertaken to take the lead in creating the secure environment which is an inescapable condition for the United Nations to provide humanitarian relief and promote national reconciliation and economic reconstruction, objectives which have from the outset been included in the various Security Council resolutions on Somalia."

14. As soon as resolution 794 (1992) was adopted, I communicated its text to the Secretaries-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and the League of Arab States. These regional organizations have been associated, with the United Nations, in

efforts to promote national reconciliation in Somalia. My Special Representative, Ambassador Rittani, was requested to inform political parties and movements in Somalia of the implications of the adoption of the resolution. He has remained in close contact with the parties and movements.

15. The results of the technical meeting between the United Nations and various Somali groups in Addis Ababa from 3 to 5 December 1992 were encouraging. Taking this into account, as well as advice from my Special Representative and appeals from the Somali parties, I have decided to initiate the process of national reconciliation during the first phase of action by the Unified Task Force. Accordingly, I am convening an informal preparatory meeting for a conference of national reconciliation and unity on Somalia, to be held at United Nations Headquarters in Addis Ababa on 4 January 1993.

16. The objective of this informal meeting is to prepare a framework that will enable the Somali people themselves to develop ideas and suggest arrangements for the formation of a Government in accordance with their own traditions and values. Looking ahead to the convening of a national reconciliation conference, the meeting will seek consensus on the date, venue and list of participants for such a formal conference. If possible, the meeting will prepare a draft agenda for the conference.

17. In the meantime, and only for this informal meeting, the Special Representative, as a result of his consultations with Somalis at the local level, has proposed a list of twelve Somali political movements to be invited to the informal meeting on 4 January 1993. The twelve movements are:

1. Somali Salvation Democratic front (SSDF)
2. Somali National Movement (SNM)
3. Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM)

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4. United Somali Congress (USC) - Ali Mahdi
5. Somali National Front (SNF)
6. United Somali Party (USP)
7. Somali Democratic alliance (SDA)
8. United Somali Front (USF)
9. Somali Democratic Movement (SDM)
10. Somali Agricultural Muki Organization (SAMO)
11. Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM)
12. United Somali Congress (USC) - Aidid

18. I have extended invitations to the informal meeting to these twelve Somali political movements, as well as to the Secretaries-General of the OAU, the OIC and the League of Arab States and the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Countries of the Horn. It is also my intention to invite the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement to be represented. I plan to visit the countries of the Horn, tentatively including Somalia, during the first part of January of 1993 to give further impetus to the process of national reconciliation.

II. THE FUTURE MANDATE OF UNOSOM AND THE MODALITIES FOR TRANSITION TO CONTINUED PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS

19. Operative paragraph 1 of resolution 794 (1992) encapsulates the mandate which the Security Council has entrusted to the Secretary-General since it adopted resolution 733 on 23 January 1992. This mandate has been to help the parties establish and maintain a ceasefire, to distribute humanitarian relief and to promote national reconciliation and a political settlement. In resolution 751 of 24 April 1992 the Council took the further step of agreeing in principle to establish a security force to provide security for humanitarian activities in Mogadishu. In resolution 775 of 28 August 1992 the Council decided to extend this mandate to cover other areas in Somalia. It was to be implemented, as

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originally stipulated in operative paragraph 5 of resolution 751 (1992), in consultation with the parties concerned. In practice fulfilment of this condition proved to be impossible. The agreement of "the parties" could not be obtained for the deployment of United Nations forces in areas where the protection of humanitarian operations was most desperately needed; when agreement was obtained, it was violated; and the small unit whose deployment in Mogadishu was agreed was not large enough to control the increasingly violent and lawless situation in that city.

20. My new Special Representative, Mr. Ismat Kittani, took up his duties in Mogadishu on 8 November 1992. His initial reports, which I summarized in my letter of 24 November 1992 to the President of the Security Council, described graphically the obstacles which the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) was facing. I accordingly suggested in that letter that the time might have come when it was necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort in Somalia. The following afternoon I was informed that if the Security Council were to decide to authorize Member States to use forceful means to ensure the delivery of relief supplies to the people of Somalia, the United States would be ready to take the lead in organizing and commanding such an operation, in which a number of other Member States would also participate. The Council responded promptly and positively to these initiatives and adopted resolution 794 (1992) in which, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, it authorized the Secretary-General and Member States to use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. In the same resolution the Council stated the objective of establishing a secure environment so as to enable it to make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations.

21. The present position is thus that the Security Council, having accepted my advice that the traditional peace-keeping model was not suitable to the Somali situation, and acting under Chapter VII, has entrusted to certain Member States, on a temporary basis, the responsibility of creating a secure environment for the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance. It is the wish of the Security Council that the transition back to peace-keeping operations should be achieved promptly. It is therefore of great importance that the conditions for such a transition should be achieved as soon as possible.

22. Since resolution 794 (1992) was adopted I and senior members of my staff have had a number of meetings with representatives of the United States Government to discuss, inter alia, how and when the transition to continued peace-keeping operations could be made. In these discussions I have laid emphasis on two conditions in particular, whose importance I also stressed in a letter of 8 December 1992 to President Bush.

23. The first condition is that the Unified Task Force should take effective action to ensure that the heavy weapons of the organized factions are neutralized and brought under international control and that the irregular forces and gangs are disarmed before the Unified Task Force withdraws. In my letter to President Bush I referred to this need and continued:

"As I stated in my letter of 29 November to the President of the Security Council, any forceful action by the international community in Somalia must have the objective of ensuring that at least the heavy weapons of the organized factions are neutralized and brought under international control and that the irregular forces and gangs are disarmed. Without this action I do not believe that it will be possible to establish the secure environment called for

by the Security Council resolution or to create conditions in which the United Nations' existing efforts to promote national reconciliation can be carried forward and the task of protecting humanitarian activities can safely be transferred to a conventional United Nations peace-keeping operation."

24. The fulfilment of this condition demands action on two fronts. First, it is necessary to establish or consolidate agreements with the leaders of all the organized factions for effective ceasefires in the various conflicts between them. These agreements must include provisions for the concentration of all the heavy weapons of each faction at designated locations where they can be brought under international control, exercised initially by the Unified Task Force and thereafter by UNOSOM. I am glad to be able to report that the leaders of the two principal factions in Mogadishu have recently agreed to a new ceasefire and to the concentration of their weapons. It is important that this agreement should be quickly implemented and become the model for similar agreements elsewhere in Somalia.

25. Secondly, it is necessary to disarm the lawless gangs who have been the principal threat to humanitarian operations. In their armament and mode of operation (as described in my letter of 29 November 1992 to the President of the Security Council) they are little different from the forces of the organized factions and, indeed, sometimes cooperate with them. Once the heavy weapons of the organized factions have been concentrated, all other heavy weapons should in my view be confiscated and destroyed during the Unified Task Force's stay in the country.

26. Unless effective action is taken on these two fronts, the international community's efforts to help the people of Somalia will continue to be at risk from civil war and the predation of heavily armed and lawless gangs. The necessary secure

environment for humanitarian operations and the promotion of a political settlement, in accordance with resolution 794 (1992), would not be established. In such circumstances I would not be in a position to recommend to the Council that it decide to make the transition to continued peace-keeping operations.

27. There remains the question of small arms held by individuals. Somalia has for long been a society in which it is normal for individuals to bear arms. However, the number of weapons held, and their calibres, have increased greatly in recent years, as a result of the vast influx of arms into the country during the Cold War and developments in neighbouring countries, to the extent that they have become a standing threat to the maintenance of law and order. It will be for a new Somali Government to determine laws and regulations on the bearing of arms by individuals and those laws and regulations will be enforced by a new police force. Meanwhile I believe it important that the Unified Task Force and thereafter UNOSOM should do all they can to induce individuals to hand in their weapons in order to foster a more secure environment.

28. It is also important that the Unified Task Force and UNOSOM should begin the task of clearing mines and other munitions, especially where these prevent the use of roads, bridges and other facilities required for the efficient distribution of humanitarian supplies. This is a particular problem in the North.

29. The second, and equally essential, condition is that the authority entrusted to the Unified Task Force should be exercised throughout Somalia. Operative paragraph 10 of resolution 794 (1992) imposes no geographical limitation, other than "in Somalia", on the mandate it confers and there are many other passages in the resolution (especially its first operative paragraph) which show that "in Somalia" should be interpreted to

mean the whole of the country. I raised this point too in my letter of 8 December to President Bush, in which I wrote:

"I believe it essential that the purpose of the new operation should be to create a secure environment throughout Somalia and that this should be apparent from the outset. It is true that the quantity of suffering is greatest in the areas where it is planned to deploy the unified command's forces in the first phases. But qualitatively the situation is just as bad elsewhere, especially in the North. I was therefore heartened to hear that the unified command is studying how the new operation could be extended to all parts of Somalia".

In addition to the humanitarian argument for countrywide deployment of the Unified Task Force, there is also a compelling security argument. The objectives of the Unified Task Force would not have been achieved, nor the conditions created for the transition to peace-keeping operations, if heavy weapons and lawless gangs simply withdrew from parts of Somalia controlled by the Unified Task Force to continue their action in other parts while waiting to return and resume their harassment and exploitation of the international relief effort after the Unified Task Force had handed over to a less numerous and powerful United Nations force.

30. A third, if somewhat longer-term, factor is the need to create a new, professional police force. I am studying how this might be done, both politically and technically. It is clear that considerable financial, material and technical help will be required from the international community to establish a neutral police force. There have already been some helpful offers from Member States in this regard and I am pursuing these.

31. My discussions with the United States authorities have also touched on the revised mandate which the Security Council might entrust to a new UNOSOM. The mission's military mandate has to date been to monitor the ceasefire in Mogadishu and to provide security for United Nations humanitarian activities there and elsewhere in Somalia (paragraph 22 of my report of 21 April 1992 (S/23829) and paragraphs 23 - 26 of my report of 24 August 1992 (S/24880), which were approved by resolution 751 (1992) and 775 (1992) respectively). It is clear that this mandate will have to be enlarged in conceptual and other terms when UNOSOM takes over from the Unified Task Force.

32. My current view is that the mandate would need to continue to cover the whole territory of Somalia and to include the following tasks, which are based on the assumption that during its presence in Somalia the Unified Task Force will have brought about an effective cessation of hostilities throughout the country and will have established the secure environment called for in resolution 794 (1992):

- (a) to monitor that all factions continue to respect the cessation of hostilities and other military arrangements to which they will have agreed during the Unified Task Force's presence in the country;
- (b) to prevent any resumption of violence and, if necessary, take appropriate action against a faction which commits or threatens to violate the cessation of hostilities;
- (c) to maintain control of the heavy weapons of the organized factions which will have been brought under international control by the Unified Task Force, pending their eventual destruction or transfer to a newly-constituted national army;

- (d) to maintain security at all ports and airports required for delivery of humanitarian assistance;
- (e) to protect, as required, warehouses, distribution centres and convoys of United Nations and other humanitarian agencies and to take such forceful action as may be required to neutralize armed elements which attack, or threaten to attack, such facilities, pending the establishment of a new Somali police force which can assume this responsibility;
- (f) to continue a programme for demining in the most afflicted areas;
- (g) to provide, as requested, advice on, and technical assistance to, the formation of a police force and a new national army;
- (h) to carry out such other functions as may subsequently be authorized by the Security Council.

33. The strength of the forces required to implement such a mandate would, to an important extent, depend on the success of the Unified Task Force in establishing a secure environment throughout Somalia before it withdrew and cannot therefore be estimated at this early stage of its operations. My recommendation to the Council is likely to be that the initial deployment should be rather substantial, in order to minimize the risk of any deterioration in the security established by the Unified Task Force, but that it should be reduced progressively as the political process advances and the new national army and police force become operational.

34. I and my colleagues have agreed with our United States interlocutors that there must be a smooth transition from the

Unified Task Force to UNOSOM without any hiatus which could be exploited by factions or gangs to compromise the secure environment created by the Unified Task Force. UNOSOM will need to have sufficient troops and logistic support elements deployed in Somalia to take over instantly from the Unified Task Force in each area from which it withdraws. This transition will have to be effected progressively, area by area; it could not be implemented throughout the country on a single day.

35. A number of the Member States which are cooperating with the United States in the Unified Task Force have expressed to the United States authorities and/or to me a willingness for their contingents to serve eventually in UNOSOM. I welcome these offers and will present recommendations to the Security Council on the national composition of the new UNOSOM as soon as it is possible to determine its resource requirements. In formulating such recommendations I shall take into account the established criteria which the Security Council has endorsed in the past, including the necessary regional and political balance, military capacity and previous peace-keeping experience. Subject to these criteria, it will be my intention, for obvious reasons of practical convenience and economy, to include in the new UNOSOM as many contingents as possible which will already be in Somalia serving under the command of the Unified Task Force. Subject to the Security Council's approval in due course, and that of the contributing Governments' concerned, arrangements would be coordinated for each such unit to pass on an appointed day from the operational command of the Unified Task Force to that of the United Nations, as required by the phased transfer of responsibility referred to in the preceding paragraph.

36. Any resources required by the new UNOSOM which cannot, for one reason or another, be made available from units already serving with the Unified Task Force will need to be deployed to Somalia in good time for the planned transition. In this context

I am particularly concerned about the logistic units which will be required. It is my understanding that the bulk of the logistic support for the Unified Task Force will be provided by the United States. Logistic units are always the most difficult to find when a new peace-keeping operation is being put together. I have therefore indicated to the United States authorities that they are likely to be asked to keep some logistic units in Somalia in support of UNOSOM for some while after the main body of their troops has been withdrawn.

37. My and my colleagues' discussions with the United States authorities have been useful in clarifying many points and establishing much common ground about the modalities for the transition to continued peace keeping operations. However, they have brought to light certain differences of approach as regards the timing of detailed planning for the transition. The United States representatives have pressed for such planning to begin now. I and my representatives, on the other hand, have taken the line that it would be difficult to move from discussion of concepts to the formulation of concrete plans until more is known about the success of the Unified Task Force in establishing a secure environment which would permit the transition to take place. I have also had in mind the effect, positive or negative, that the evolution of the political process can have on the security environment. It is to be hoped that this factor will become easier to assess after the meeting which is to be held in Addis Ababa on 4 January 1993.

38. At the most recent meeting with United States representatives, which took place on 18 December 1992, it also became clear that their thinking differed somewhat from the concept described in the preceding paragraphs of this report. They envisaged the Unified Task Force being replaced by a new UNOSOM which would be under United Nations command and control but whose mandate, concept of operations, level of armament and

rules of engagement would be little different from those of the Unified Task Force itself. It was argued that a force mandated and organized on normal peace-keeping lines would not be capable of protecting humanitarian activities from factional forces or gangs which would not have been neutralized or disarmed during the presence of the Unified Task Force in Somalia. The United States representatives hoped that the transition from the Unified Task Force to this new UNOSOM could begin as soon as possible. My representatives undertook to convey this new approach to me and to consider whether joint planning could proceed on this basis.

III. OBSERVATIONS

39. In operative paragraph 19 of resolution 794 (1992) the Security Council asked me to "submit a plan ... to ensure that UNOSOM will be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command". Part II of this report sets out my current ideas on the kind of mandate UNOSOM would require to maintain the secure environment for humanitarian relief operations which will have been established by the Unified Task Force. It also sets out my ideas on the conditions which will have to be fulfilled before I would feel able to recommend to the Security Council that it make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations. To that extent, this report can be regarded as a conceptual plan for UNOSOM's new tasks after the Unified Task Force has completed the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council in operative paragraph 10 of resolution 794 (1992).

40. It will obviously be necessary to convert the conceptual plan into a specific plan detailing the troops and equipment required for UNOSOM, their deployment, arrangements for their logistic support, their rules of engagement and so on. Once these details are established it will be possible to work out

quickly how the transition to continued peace-keeping operations can be put into effect. I share the United States authorities' wish that this work should be undertaken as soon as possible. But in my view the moment for it has not yet come. The Unified Task Force has been on the ground for only 10 days and it is too soon to make an evaluation of its success in establishing a secure environment for humanitarian operations and of the resources that will be required to enable UNOSOM to maintain that environment. At this stage therefore I am not in a position to offer the Council a specific and concrete plan for the transition to continued peace-keeping operations.

41. By the same token it is too soon to take a decision on the approach described in paragraph 38 above. This differs from the peace-keeping model by which I have so far been guided in accordance with resolution 794 (1992). It reflects a view that the Unified Task Force will not establish a secure environment of a kind that could be maintained by a normally mandated and armed peace-keeping force and that a considerable capacity for enforcement will therefore have to be kept in being under United Nations command. This concept would require a further decision by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter and would be analogous to the fifth option for which I expressed a preference in my letter of 29 November 1992 to the President of the Security Council.

42. The question which will have to be addressed in due course is whether such an operation would be feasible, taking into account the considerations referred to in that letter. To answer that question it will be necessary to know much more about the extent and success of the Unified Task Force's operations. It will also be necessary to know how many Member States, those already contributing to the Unified Task Force or others, would be ready to participate in an operation of this kind and whether their number would be sufficient for the task proposed.

43. There are wider reasons, extending beyond the success of the Unified Task Force or the readiness of Member States to support a peace enforcement operation under United Nations command, which lead me to conclude that it would be premature to determine at this stage how and when the Unified Task Force should be replaced. For the United Nations that decision will have very far-reaching consequences. Resolution 794 (1992) commits it to taking on another major peace-keeping operation at a time when both the Organization's capacity to manage such operations and Member States' readiness to finance them have been stretched almost to the limit by the huge expansion in peace-keeping in 1992. The approach described in paragraph 38 above presents an even more daunting prospect, namely the first peace-enforcement operation to be carried out under United Nations command.

Whichever of these two options the Security Council may eventually choose, the Secretary-General has to do what he can to ensure, before decisions are taken, that conditions exist which offer a reasonable prospect of the operation succeeding. One of these conditions is confidence in continuing support from Member States on whom that success would be critically dependent.

44. In addressing these questions, I am conscious not only of the overriding humanitarian imperative but also of the inter-relationship between the political process and security. Without improved security the political process cannot prosper. But there is little prospect of a sustained improvement in security unless the political process does prosper. A number of the factors identified in this report as being relevant to the establishment of a secure environment will be strengthened if momentum can be maintained in the political process, just as they will be weakened if momentum is lost. Examples are the establishment of ceasefires, the control of heavy weapons, the disarming of lawless gangs, the creation of a new police force. Without for one moment suggesting that the Unified Task Force should remain in Somalia until the peace process achieves its

goals, I do believe that progress in the peace process must be taken into account in deciding how and when the Force should be replaced by a new UNOSOM. The informal meeting over which I shall preside in Addis Ababa on 4 January 1993 is of special importance in this regard.

45. Another consideration underlining what may seem an over-cautious approach is the fact that the international community faces a long haul in helping the people of Somalia to put their country on its feet again. There will have to be an integrated approach towards the restoration of security, political reconciliation, the re-creation of institutions, the return of refugees, rehabilitation, reconstruction - in short, all the elements of post-conflict peace-building. Hasty decisions at the very beginning of this process could have far-reaching and nefarious consequences. It would be a tragedy if the premature departure, or remodelling, of the Unified Task Force were to plunge Somalia back into anarchy and starvation and destroy the fragile political progress of recent weeks.

46. For all these reasons, I recommend that the Security Council defer a decision on these questions until the situation on the ground in Somalia becomes clearer.

47. In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute to the United States of America for the leadership which it has shown in its response to the crisis in Somalia. In my letter of 8 December 1992 to President Bush I wrote:

"I wish to express my appreciation for the significant contribution which the United States, under your leadership, is making to this endeavour. I should also like to assure you of my full commitment, and that of my Special Representative, Mr. Ismat Kittani, to working as closely as possible with you to ensure that together we can succeed in relieving the appalling suffering in Somalia and putting

that country on course to a peaceful and more secure future".

The frankness with which, in this report, I have described certain differences of approach between the Secretariat and the United States is a measure of the excellent working relationship that has been established between us since the adoption of resolution 794 (1992), both in New York and in Mogadishu. That close cooperation will continue. Equally, I pay tribute to the more than 20 Member States from all continents who have decided to participate in the Unified Task Force and to those who have contributed, or will contribute, to the Trust Fund which has been established to support the Force.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

09-Jan-1993 19:08 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX MAIL@OEOb
ORDWAY@A1@OEOb

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: TFSO01: DRAFT TEXT OF NEW UNSC SOMALIA

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UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
INFO USLO MOGADISHU 0347-0348 IMMEDIATE
<SUBJ>

TFSO01: DRAFT TEXT OF NEW UNSC SOMALIA
RESOLUTION

<TEXT>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 007788
CORRECTED COPY (ADDED TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, EAID, UNSC, SO

SUBJECT: TFSO01: DRAFT TEXT OF NEW UNSC SOMALIA
RESOLUTION

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DRAFT TEXT OF FOLLOW-ON SOMALIA RESOLUTION PROVIDED BELOW SHOULD BE VIEWED AND DISCUSSED IN CONJUNCTION WITH TALKING POINTS PROVIDED SEPTEL.
3. ACTION REQUEST: USUN SHOULD CIRCULATE THIS DRAFT TEXT, PARALLEL TO INSTRUCTIONS SEPTEL, INITIALLY TO PERM-5 MEMBERS AND JAPAN. FOLLOWING THESE INITIAL CONSULTATIONS, PERMREP MAY CONSULT MORE BROADLY IN THE COUNCIL ONCE A CONSENSUS APPEARS LIKELY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE PERM-5 PLUS JAPAN. EMBASSIES IN PERM-5 COUNTRIES, TOKYO, AND ALL UNITAF COUNTRIES ON THE COUNCIL SHOULD INFORM HOST GOVERNMENTS AT APPROPRIATELY

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 02/22/17
2012-0659-F

HY LEVELS OF THE CONSULTATIONS NOW UNDERWAY IN NEW
Y

4. BEGIN DRAFT TEXT:

--DRAFT RESOLUTION ON EXPANSION OF UNOSOM

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
REAFFIRMING ITS RESOLUTIONS 794 (1992) OF 3 DECEMBER 1992
775 (1992) OF 28 AUGUST 1992, 767 (1992) OF 27 JULY 1992,
751 (1992) OF 24 APRIL 1992, 746 (1992) OF 17 MARCH 1992,
AND 733 (1992) OF 23 JANUARY 1992,
COMMENDING THE EFFORTS OF MEMBER STATES ACTING PURSUANT TO
RESOLUTION 794 (1992) TO ESTABLISH A SECURE ENVIRONMENT
FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA,
ACKNOWLEDGING THE NEED FOR A PROMPT TRANSITION FROM THE
UNIFIED TASK FORCE TO UNOSOM,
NOTING WITH DEEP REGRET AND CONCERN THE CONTINUING REPORTS
OF WIDESPREAD VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW
AND THE GENERAL ABSENCE OF THE RULE OF LAW IN SOMALIA,
DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA CONTINUES
TO CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,
RECOGNIZING THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA BEAR ULTIMATE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND
RECONSTRUCTION OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY,
CONSIDERING THE RESTORATION OF LAW AND ORDER IN SOMALIA
WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS,
RECONCILIATION AND POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, AND THE
REHABILITATION OF SOMALIA'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND
ECONOMY,
STRESSING THE DESIRE TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA TO
PARTICIPATE IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS WHEN CONDITIONS
PERMIT,
ENCOURAGING THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND HIS SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE TO CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY THEIR WORK AT THE
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS TO PROMOTE THE PROCESS OF
POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND TO
ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA IN REHABILITATING THEIR
POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMY,
WELCOMING THE PROGRESS MADE AT THE UN-SPONSORED
PREPARATORY CONFERENCE ON SOMALI POLITICAL RECONCILIATION
HELD IN ADDIS ABABA JANUARY 4-5, 1993.

NOTING THE REPORT OF STATES CONCERNED OF 17 DECEMBER 1992
(S/24976) AND OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF 19 DECEMBER 1992
(S/24992) ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 794 AND THE
ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF A SECURE
ENVIRONMENT SO AS TO ENABLE THE COUNCIL TO MAKE THE NECESSARY
DECISION FOR A PROMPT TRANSITION FROM THE UNIFIED TASK FORCE
UNOSOM,

1. WELCOMES THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (S/24992);
2. URGES THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO WORK TOWARD THE DISBANDING
OF ALL PARAMILITARY AND IRREGULAR FORCES IN SOMALIA;
3. DECIDES TO EXPAND THE SIZE OF UNOSOM AND ITS MANDATE TO
ENSURE THE MAINTENANCE OF A SECURE ENVIRONMENT FOR HUMANITARIAN
RELIEF OPERATIONS TAKING ALL APPROPRIATE ACTIONS AGAINST
ELEMENTS THREATENING THAT SECURE ENVIRONMENT, AND TO PROMOTE
RECONCILIATION AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN SOMALIA;

4. CALLS UPON THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND, THROUGH HIM, THE UN COMMANDER, TO TAKE ALL ACTIONS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THIS MANDATE;
5. CALLS UPON THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DIRECT THE COMMANDER UNOSOM, UPON A DETERMINATION BY THE COMMANDER OF UNITAF SUBMITTED BY THE MEMBER STATE CONCERNED THAT A SECURE ENVIRONMENT FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED IN A PART OF SOMALIA, TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF SECURED SECTORS AS PART OF A PHASED TRANSITION FROM UNITAF TO UNOSOM;
6. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO ASSIST THE SOMALI PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL RECONCILIATION;
7. CALLS UPON THE SECRETARY GENERAL, THROUGH HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR SOMALIA AND WITH ASSISTANCE, AS APPROPRIATE FROM UNOSOM AND ALL APPROPRIATE UN OFFICES AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES;
 - A) TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIGENOUS POLICE FOR TO ASSIST IN THE RESTORATION OF PEACE, STABILITY AND LAW AND ORDER IN SOMALIA;
 - B) TO PROVIDE FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN SOMALIA;
 - C) TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA IN THE REESTABLISHMENT OF BASIC PUBLIC SERVICES AND THE REHABILITATION OF THEIR ECONOMY;
 - D) TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS; AND
 - E) TO RECEIVE, COLLECT AND PRESERVE INFORMATION RELATING TO SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN SOMALIA;
8. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE COUNCIL WITHIN 15 DAYS CONTAINING HIS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE EXPANSION OF UNOSOM AND FURTHER REPORTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THEREAFTER FOR IMPLEMENTING THE PROVISIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION;
9. REQUESTS UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES, MEMBER STATES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO EXTEND, IN COORDINATION WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL, FINANCIAL, MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA;
10. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

KANTER

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1992

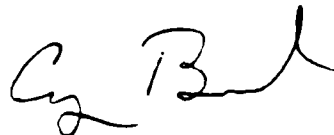
Dear Mr. Secretary General:

I want you to know how immensely pleased I am at the news of the passage of the UN resolution on Somalia. I also want to thank you for your tremendous hard work to achieve this unprecedented outcome. A dramatic step has been taken to address the appalling suffering of the Somali people. I want to assure you that the U.S. in accordance with the resolution will discharge the responsibilities which fall to it in a full and comprehensive manner. We will build a coalition and work closely with you under UN auspices.

As the United States prepares to deploy its own forces to Somalia to carry out yesterday's UNSC resolution, I want to emphasize that the mission of the coalition is limited and specific: to create security conditions which will permit the feeding of the starving Somali people and allow the transfer of this security function to the UN peacekeeping force. The military objectives to accomplish this mission derive from the immediate obstacles to the relief effort: the need to secure ports, airports, and delivery routes, and to protect storage and distribution of humanitarian supplies and relief workers. I believe these objectives can, and should, be met in the near term. As soon as they are, the coalition force will depart from Somalia, transferring its security function to your UN peacekeeping force.

I want to conclude by expressing my continuing admiration for your leadership in this crisis and reiterating the U.S. commitment to working closely with the UN to build a secure and stable world.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'C. Bush', written in a cursive style.

His Excellency
Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General of the United Nations
New York

1. The United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended ¹

Public Law 79-264 [S. 1580], 59 Stat. 619; 22 U.S.C. 287-287e, approved December 20, 1945, as amended by Public Law 81-216 [H.R. 5632], 63 Stat. 578, approved August 10, 1949; Public Law 81-341 [H.R. 4708], 63 Stat. 734; approved October 10, 1949; Public Law 86-707 [H.R. 7758], 74 Stat. 792, approved September 6, 1960; Public Law 89-206 [S. 1903], 79 Stat. 841, approved September 28, 1965; Public Law 93-126 [H.R. 7645], 87 Stat. 451, approved October 18, 1973; Public Law 95-12 [H.R. 1746], 91 Stat. 22, approved March 18, 1977; Public Law 96-465 [H.R. 6790], 94 Stat. 2071 at 2160, approved October 17, 1980; Public Law 97-241 [Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1982 and 1983; S. 1193], 96 Stat. 273 at 279 and 280, approved August 24, 1982; and by Public Law 98-164 [Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985; H.R. 2915], 97 Stat. 1017 at 1035, approved November 22, 1983

AN ACT To provide for the appointment of representatives of the United States in the organs and agencies of the United Nations, and to make other provision with respect to the participation of the United States in such organization.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "United Nations Participation Act of 1945".

Sec. 2. (a) ² The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a representative of the United States to the United Nations who shall have the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and shall hold office at the pleasure of the President. Such representative shall represent the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations and may serve ex officio as representative of the United States in any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations other than specialized agencies of the United Nations, and shall perform such other functions in connection with the participation of the United States in the United Nations as the President may, from time to time, direct.

(b) ² The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint additional persons with appropriate titles, rank, and status to represent the United States in the principal organs of the United Nations and in such organs, commissions, or other bodies as may be created by the United Nations with respect to nuclear energy or disarmament (control and limitation of armament). Such persons shall serve at the pleasure of the President and subject to the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations. They shall, at the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, represent the United States in any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the Economic

¹ Sec. 503 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, fiscal year 1978 (91 Stat. 858), called on the United States to initiate "major reforms in the United Nations system in order to make that body more effective in resolving global problems." For text of sec. 503, including specific proposals for U.S. action see page 171.

² Subsecs. (a) and (b) were amended and restated by sec. 1(a) of Public Law 89-206, 79 Stat. 841. Previously amended and restated by sec. 2 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 734).

and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council, and perform such other functions as the Representative of the United States is authorized to perform in connection with the participation of the United States in the United Nations. Any Deputy Representative or any other officer holding office at the time the provisions of this Act, as amended, become effective shall not be required to be reappointed by reason of the enactment of this Act, as amended.

(c)³ The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall designate from time to time to attend a specified session or specified sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations not to exceed five representatives of the United States and such number of alternates as he may determine consistent with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. One of the representatives shall be designated as the senior representative.

(d)⁴ The President may also appoint from time to time such other persons as he may deem necessary to represent the United States in organs and agencies of the United Nations. The President may, without the advice and consent of the Senate, designate any officer of the United States to act without additional compensation as the representative of the United States in either the Economic and Social Council or the Trusteeship Council (1) at any specified session thereof where the position is vacant or in the absence or disability of the regular representative or (2) in connection with a specified subject matter at any specified session of either such council in lieu of the regular representative. The President may designate any officer of the Department of State, whose appointment is subject to confirmation by the Senate, to act, without additional compensation, for temporary periods as the representative of the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations in the absence or disability of the representatives provided for under section 2 (a) and (b) or in lieu of such representatives in connection with a specified subject matter.

(e)⁵ The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a representative of the United States to the European office of the United Nations with appropriate rank and status who shall serve at the pleasure of the President and subject to the direction of the Secretary of State. Such person shall, at the direction of the Secretary of State, represent the United States at the European office of the United Nations, and perform such other functions there in connection with the participation of the United States in international organizations as the Secretary of State may, from time to time, direct.

(f)⁵ Nothing contained in this section shall preclude the President, or the Secretary of State, at the direction of the President from representing the United States at any meeting or session of any organ or agency of the United Nations.

(g)⁵ All persons appointed in pursuance of authority contained in this section shall receive compensation at rates determined by

³ Subsec. (c) was amended and restated by sec. 1 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 734).

⁴ Subsec. (d) was amended and restated by sec. 1(b) of Public Law 89-206 (79 Stat. 841). Previously amended and restated by sec. 1 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 735).

⁵ Subsecs. (e) and (f) were redesignated subsecs. (f) and (g) respectively and a new subsec. (e) was added by sec. 2 of Public Law 89-206 (79 Stat. 841). The present subsec. (g) was originally added by sec. 2 of Public Law 81-341.

the President upon the basis of duties to be performed but not in excess of rates authorized by sections 401, 402, and 403 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 for chiefs of mission, members of the Senior Foreign Service, and Foreign Service officers occupying positions of equivalent importance, except that no Member of the Senate or House of Representatives or officer of the United States who is designated under subsections (c) and (d) of this section as a representative of the United States or as an alternate to attend any specified session or specified sessions of the General Assembly shall be entitled to receive such compensation.⁶

(h)⁷ The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a representative of the United States to the Vienna office of the United Nations with appropriate rank and status, who shall serve at the pleasure of the President and subject to the direction of the Secretary of State. Such individual shall, at the direction of the Secretary of State, represent the United States at the Vienna office of the United Nations and perform such other functions there in connection with the participation of the United States in international organizations as the Secretary of State from time to time may direct.

Sec. 3.⁸ The representatives provided for in section 2 hereof, when representing the United States in the respective organs and agencies of the United Nations, shall, at all times, act in accordance with the instructions of the President transmitted by the Secretary of State unless other means of transmission is directed by the President, and such representatives shall, in accordance with such instructions, cast any and all votes under the Charter in the United Nations.

Sec. 4.⁹ The President shall, from time to time as occasion may require, but not less than once each year, make reports to the Congress of the activities of the United Nations and of the participation of the United States therein. He shall make special current reports on decisions of the Security Council to take enforcement measures under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and on the participation therein, under his instructions, of the representative of the United States.

Sec. 5.¹⁰ (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, whenever the United States is called upon by the Security Council to apply measures which said Council has decided, pursuant to article 41 of said Charter, are to be employed to give effect to its decisions under said Charter, the President may, to the extent necessary to apply such measures, through any agency which he may designate, and under such orders, rules, and regulations as may be prescribed by him, investigate, regulate, or prohibit, in whole or in part, economic relations of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication between any foreign country or

⁶ References in this sentence to the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and to the Senior Foreign Service were inserted by sec. 2206(a)(2) of Public Law 96-465 (94 Stat. 2160), effective Feb. 15, 1981. These replaced a reference to the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

⁷ Subsec. (h) was added by sec. 118 of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1982 and 1983 (Public Law 97-273; 96 Stat. 279).

⁸ 22 U.S.C. 287a.

⁹ 22 U.S.C. 287b.

¹⁰ 22 U.S.C. 287c.

any national thereof or any person therein and the United States or any person subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or involving any property subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Any Executive order which is issued under this subsection and which applies measures against Southern Rhodesia pursuant to any United Nations Security Council Resolution may be enforced, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law.¹¹ The President may exempt from such Executive order any shipment of chromium in any form which is in transit to the United States on the date of enactment of this sentence.¹²

(b) Any person who willfully violates or evades or attempts to violate or evade any order, rule, or regulation issued by the President pursuant to paragraph (a) of this section shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than \$10,000 or, if a natural person, be imprisoned for not more than ten years, or both; and the officer, director, or agent of any corporation who knowingly participates in such violation or evasion shall be punished by a like fine, imprisonment, or both, and any property, funds, securities, papers, or other articles or documents, or any vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, or vehicle, or aircraft,¹³ concerned in such violation shall be forfeited to the United States.

(c)¹⁴ (1) During the period in which measures are applied against Southern Rhodesia under subsection (a) pursuant to any United Nations Security Council Resolution, a shipment of any steel mill product (as such product may be defined by the Secretary) containing chromium in any form may not be released from customs custody for entry into the United States if—

(A) a certificate of origin with respect to such shipment has not been filed with the Secretary; or

(B) in the case of a shipment with respect to which a certificate of origin has been filed with the Secretary, the Secretary determines that the information contained in such certificate does not adequately establish that the steel mill product in such shipment does not contain chromium in any form which is of Southern Rhodesian origin;

unless such release is authorized by the Secretary under paragraph (3) (B) or (C).

(2) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations for carrying out this subsection.

¹¹ Such an Executive order was issued on Mar. 18, 1977, E.O. 11978 (amending E.O. 11419). See also sec. 27 of the International Security Assistance Act of 1978 (92 Stat. 746) which specified that the United States would not enforce sanctions against Rhodesia after Dec. 31, 1978, provided that the President made certain determinations regarding the political situation in Rhodesia (page 443, ft. 11, vol. I). The policy contained in sec. 27 was never implemented since the President did not issue the necessary determinations. See also sec. 408 of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1980-81 (Public Law 96-60; 93 Stat. 405) which contains several congressional findings regarding the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia situation and instructed the President to terminate sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia by Nov. 15, 1979, unless he determined that it would not be in the national interest of the United States to do so. On Nov. 14, President Carter issued Determination No. 80-44 (55 F.R. 67073) making a finding that it was not in the interest of the United States to terminate the sanctions. For complete text of sec. 408, see page 1061. However, on Dec. 16, 1979, the President issued Executive Order 12183 (44 F.R. 74787) which revoked all sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Such Executive order also revoked Executive Orders 11322, 11419, and 11978.

¹² The final two sentences of subsec. (a) were added by Public Law 95-12 (91 Stat. 22).

¹³ The words "or aircraft" added by sec. 3 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 735).

¹⁴ Subsec. (c) was added by Public Law 95-12 (91 Stat. 22).

(3)(A) In carrying out this subsection, the Secretary may issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence. Any such subpoena, may, upon application by the Secretary, be enforced in a civil action in an appropriate United States district court.

(B) The Secretary may exempt from the certification requirements of this subsection any shipment of a steel mill product containing chromium in any form which is in transit to the United States on the date of enactment of this subsection.

(C) Under such circumstances as he deems appropriate, the Secretary may release from customs custody for entry into the United States, under such bond as he may require, any shipment of a steel mill product containing chromium in any form.

(4) As used in this subsection—

(A) the term "certificate of origin" means such certificate as the Secretary may require, with respect to a shipment of any steel mill product containing chromium in any form, issued by the government (or by a designee of such government if the Secretary is satisfied that such designee is the highest available certifying authority) of the country in which such steel mill product was produced certifying that the steel mill product in such shipment contains no chromium in any form which is of Southern Rhodesian origin; and

(B) the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sec. 6.¹⁵ The President is authorized to negotiate a special agreement or agreements with the Security Council which shall be subject to the approval of the Congress by appropriate Act or joint resolution, providing for the numbers and types of armed forces, their degree of readiness and general locations, and the nature of facilities and assistance, including rights of passage, to be made available to the Security Council on its call for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security in accordance with article 43 of said Charter. The President shall not be deemed to require the authorization of the Congress to make available to the Security Council on its call in order to take action under article 42 of said Charter and pursuant to such special agreement or agreements the Armed Forces, facilities, or assistance provided for therein: *Provided*, That, except as authorized in section 7 of this Act,¹⁶ nothing herein contained shall be construed as an authorization to the President by the Congress to make available to the Security Council for such purpose armed forces, facilities, or assistance in addition to the forces, facilities, and assistance provided for in such special agreement or agreements.

Sec. 7.¹⁷ (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President, upon the request by the United Nations for cooperative action, and to the extent that he finds that it is consistent with the national interest to comply with such request, may authorize, in

¹⁵ 22 U.S.C. 287d.

¹⁶ The words "except as authorized in section 7 of this Act" added by sec. 4 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 735).

¹⁷ 22 U.S.C. 287d-1. Sec. 7 was added by sec. 5 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 735). Sec. 12(a) of Public Law 81-216 (63 Stat. 591), changed the term "National Military Establishment" to "Department of Defense".

support of such activities of the United Nations as are specifically directed to the peaceful settlement of disputes and not involving the employment of armed forces contemplated by chapter VII of the United Nations Charter—

(1) the detail to the United Nations, under such terms and conditions as the President shall determine, of personnel of the armed forces of the United States to serve as observers, guards, or in any noncombatant capacity, but in no event shall more than a total of one thousand of such personnel be so detailed at any one time: *Provided*, That while so detailed, such personnel shall be considered for all purposes as acting in the line of duty, including the receipt of pay and allowances as personnel of the armed forces of the United States, credit for longevity and retirement, and all other perquisites appertaining to such duty: *Provided further*, That upon authorization or approval by the President, such personnel may accept directly from the United Nations (a) any or all of the allowances or perquisites to which they are entitled under the first proviso hereof, and (b) extraordinary expenses and perquisites incident to such detail;

(2) the furnishing of facilities, services, or other assistance and the loan of the agreed fair share of the United States of any supplies and equipment to the United Nations by the Department of Defense, under such terms and conditions as the President shall determine;

(3) the obligation, insofar as necessary to carry out the purposes of clauses (1) and (2) of this subsection, of any funds appropriated to the Department of Defense or any department therein, the procurement of such personnel, supplies, equipment, facilities, services, or other assistance as may be made available in accordance with the request of the United Nations, and the replacement of such items, when necessary, where they are furnished from stocks.

(b) Whenever personnel or assistance is made available pursuant to the authority contained in subsection (a) (1) and (2) of this section, the President shall require reimbursement from the United Nations for the expense thereby incurred by the United States: *Provided*, That in exceptional circumstances, or when the President finds it to be in the national interest, he may waive, in whole or in part, the requirement of such reimbursement: *Provided further*, That when any such reimbursement is made, it shall be credited, at the option of the appropriate department of the Department of Defense, either to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account currently available for the purposes for which expenditures were made.

(c) In addition to the authorization of appropriations to the Department of State contained in section 8 of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department of Defense, or any department therein, such sums as may be necessary to reimburse such departments in the event that reimbursement from the United Nations is waived in whole or in part pursuant to authority contained in subsection (b) of this section.

(d) Nothing in this Act shall authorize the disclosure of any information or knowledge in any case in which such disclosure is prohibited by any other law of the United States.

Sec. 8.¹⁸ There is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually to the Department of State, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the United Nations as apportioned by the General Assembly in accordance with article 17 of the Charter, and for all necessary salaries and expenses of the representatives provided for in section 2 hereof, and of their appropriate staffs, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, without regard to the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended;¹⁹ travel expenses without regard to the Standardized Government Travel Regulations, as amended, the Travel Expense Act of 1949,²⁰ and section 10 of the Act of March 3, 1933, as amended,²¹ and, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, travel expenses of families and transportation of effects of United States representatives and other personnel in going to and returning from their post of duty; allowances for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the Act approved June 26, 1930 (5 U.S.C. 118a);²² cost-of-living allowances for personnel stationed abroad under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe; communications services; stenographic reporting, translating, and other services, by contract; hire of passenger motor vehicles and other local transportation; rent of offices; printing and binding without regard to section 11 of the Act of March 1, 1949 (44 U.S.C. 111); allowances and expenses as provided in section 6 of the Act of July 30, 1946 (Public Law 565, Seventy-ninth Congress),²³ and allowances and expenses equivalent to those provided in section 905 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980,²⁴ the lease or rental (for periods not exceeding ten years) of living quarters for the use of the representatives provided for in section 2 of this Act and of their appropriate staffs,²⁵ the cost of installation

¹⁸ 22 U.S.C. 287e. Added originally as sec. 7, it was redesignated as sec. 8 by sec. 6 of Public Law 81-341 (63 Stat. 736).

Sec. 410 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, Public Law 92-226, approved Feb. 7, 1972, provides as follows:

"The Congress strongly urges the President to undertake such negotiations as may be necessary to implement that portion of the recommendations of the Report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (known as the 'Lodge Commission') which proposes that the portion of the regular assessed costs to be paid by the United States to the United Nations be reduced so that the United States is assessed in each year not more than 25 per centum of such costs assessed all members of the United Nations for that year."

¹⁹ Classification Act of 1923, as amended, is now the Classification Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C. 305, 5101-5113, 5115, 5331-5338, 5341, 5342, 5509, 7154).

²⁰ Travel Expense Act of 1949 is now amended (5 U.S.C. 5701, 5702, 5704-5708).

²¹ 15 U.S.C. 5731.

²² Act of June 26, 1930, is now amended (5 U.S.C. 5912).

²³ Sec. 6 of the act of July 30, 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287r).

²⁴ The reference to sec. 905 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 was inserted by sec. 2206(a)(2) of Public Law 96-465 (94 Stat. 2160), effective February 15, 1981. This replaced a reference to sec. 901(3) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

²⁵ The words "representatives provided for in section 2 of this Act and of their appropriate staffs" were inserted in lieu of "representative of the United States to the United Nations referred to in paragraph (a) of section 2 hereof" by sec. 119(1) of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1982 and 1983 (Public Law 97-241; 96 Stat. 280).

and use of telephones in the same manner as telephone service is provided for use of the Foreign Service pursuant to the Act of August 23, 1912, as amended (31 U.S.C. 679), and ²⁶ unusual expenses similar to those authorized by section 22 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended ²⁷ by section 311 of the Overseas Differentials and Allowances Act, incident to the operation and maintenance of such living quarters; and such other expenses as may be authorized by the Secretary of State; and without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes as amended (41 U.S.C. 5). Any payments made by United States Government personnel for occupancy by them of living quarters leased or rented under this section shall be credited to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized by the Secretary of State for such lease or rental or to the appropriation, fund, or account currently available for such purpose.²⁸

Sec. 9.²⁹ The President may, under such regulations as he shall prescribe, and notwithstanding section 3648 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 529) and section 5536 of title 5, United States Code—

(1) grant any employee of the staff of the United States Mission to the United Nations designated by the Secretary of State, and any employee of the United States Information Agency designated by the Director of that Agency,³⁰ who is required because of important representational responsibilities to live in the extraordinarily high-rent area immediately surrounding the headquarters of the United Nations in New York, New York, an allowance to compensate for the portion of expenses necessarily incurred by the employee for quarters and utilities which exceed the average of such expenses incurred by typical, permanent residents of the Metropolitan New York, New York, area with comparable salary and family size who are not compelled by reason of their employment to live in such high-rent area; and

(2) provide such allowance as the President considers appropriate, to each Delegate and Alternate Delegate of the United States to any session of the General Assembly of the United Nations who is not a permanent member of the staff of the United States Mission to the United Nations, in order to compensate each such Delegate or Alternate Delegate for necessary housing and subsistence expenses incurred by him with respect to attending any such session.

Not more than fifty employees, including not more than five employees of the United States Information Agency,³¹ shall be receiv-

²⁶ Sec. 311(b) of Public Law 86-707 substituted the phrase "and unusual expenses . . ." for the previous clause.

²⁷ Sec. 22 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended, is now codified as 5 U.S.C. 5913 by Public Law 89-554, 80 Stat. 378 at 510, Sept. 6, 1966.

²⁸ This sentence was added by sec. 119(2) of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1982 and 1983 (Public Law 97-273; 96 Stat. 280).

²⁹ 22 U.S.C. 287e-1. Sec. 9 was added by sec. 15 of Public Law 93-126 (87 Stat. 454).

³⁰ Sec. 215(1) of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985 (Public Law 98-164; 97 Stat. 1035) added the words "and any employee of the United States Information Agency designated by the Director of that Agency."

³¹ Sec. 215(2) of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985 (Public Law 98-164; 97 Stat. 1035) increased the number of employees from 45 to 50 and added the reference to the five USIA employees.

ing an allowance under paragraph (1) of this section at any one time.



Operation Restore Hope

President Bush: Humanitarian Mission to Somalia

Fact Sheet: Operation Restore Hope

Chronology: Background to Operation Restore Hope,
1991–December 8, 1992

Country Profile: Somalia

UN Security Council Resolutions on Somalia

US Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of Public Communication

and, once we have created that secure environment, we will withdraw our troops handing the security mission back to a regular UN peace-keeping force. Our mission has a limited objective—to open the supply routes, to get the food moving, and to prepare the way for a UN peace-keeping force to keep it moving.

This operation is not open ended. We will not stay 1 day longer than is absolutely necessary. Let me be very clear: Our mission is humanitarian, but we will not tolerate armed gangs ripping off their own people, condemning them to death by starvation. [Marine] General Hoar [Commander in Chief of US Central Command] and his troops have the authority to take whatever military action is necessary to safeguard the lives of our troops and the lives of Somalia's people.

The outlaw elements in Somalia must understand [that] this is serious business. We will accomplish our mission. We have no intent to remain in Somalia with fighting forces, but we are determined to do it right, to secure an environment that will allow food to get to the starving people of Somalia.

To the people of Somalia I promise this: We do not plan to dictate political outcomes. We respect your sovereignty and independence. Based on my conversations with other coalition leaders, I can state with confidence: We come to your country for one reason only, to enable the starving to be fed.

Let me say to the men and women of our armed forces, we are asking you to do a difficult and dangerous job. As commander in chief, I assure you, you will have our full support to get the job done, and we will bring you home as soon as possible.

Finally, let me close with a message to the families of the men and women who take part in this mission. I understand it is difficult to see your loved ones go, to send them off knowing they will not be home for the holidays, but the humanitarian mission they undertake is in the finest traditions of service. So, to every sailor, soldier, man, and marine who is involved in this mission, let me say, you're doing God's work. We will not fail.

Letter to Congress

Text of a letter to the Speaker of the House and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, Washington, DC, December 10, 1992.

*Dear Mr. Speaker:
(Dear Mr. President:)*

Beginning in January of this year with the adoption of U.N. Security Council Resolution 733, the United Nations has been actively addressing the humanitarian crisis in Somalia. The United States has been assisting the U.N. effort to deal with a human catastrophe. Over 300,000 Somalis have died of starvation. Five times that number remain at risk, beyond the reach of international relief efforts in large part because of the security situation. As a result, voluntary relief organizations from the United States and other countries have appealed for assistance from outside security forces.

On November 29, 1992, the Secretary General of the United Nations reported to the Security Council that the deteriorating security conditions in Somalia had severely disrupted international relief efforts and that an immediate military operation under U.N. authority was urgently required. On December 3, the Security Council adopted Resolution 794, which determined that the situation in Somalia constituted a threat to international peace and security, and, invoking Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, authorized Member States to use all necessary means to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. In my judgment, the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces under U.S. command to Somalia as part of this multilateral response to the Resolution is necessary to address a major humanitarian calamity, avert related threats to international peace and security, and protect the safety of Americans and others engaged in relief operations.

In the evening, Eastern Standard Time, on December 8, 1992, U.S. Armed Forces entered Somalia to

secure the airfield and port facility of Mogadishu. Other elements of the U.S. Armed Forces and the Armed Forces of other Members of the United Nations are being introduced onto Somalia to achieve the objectives of U.N. Security Council Resolution 794. No organized resistance has been encountered to date.

U.S. Armed Forces will remain in Somalia only as long as necessary to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations and will then turn over the responsibility of maintaining this environment to a U.N. peacekeeping force assigned to Somalia. Over 15 nations have already offered to deploy troops. While it is not possible to estimate precisely how long the transfer of responsibility may take, we believe that prolonged operations will not be necessary.

We do not intend that U.S. Armed Forces deployed to Somalia become involved in hostilities. Nonetheless, these forces are equipped and ready to take such measures as may be needed to accomplish their humanitarian mission and defend themselves, if necessary; they also will have the support of any additional U.S. Armed Forces necessary to ensure their safety and the accomplishment of their mission.

I have taken these actions pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct our foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive, and in accordance with applicable treaties and laws. In doing so, I have taken into account the views expressed in H. Con. Res. 370, S. Con. Res. 132, and the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act, Public Law 102-274, on the urgent need for action in Somalia.

I am providing this report in accordance with my desire that Congress be fully informed and consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I look forward to cooperating with Congress in the effort to relieve human suffering and to restore peace and stability in the region.

Sincerely,
GEORGE BUSH ■

Somalia: Operation Restore Hope

Working with other concerned nations under UN auspices, the United States is acting to ease the suffering of millions of Somalis through Operation Restore Hope. In the face of a human tragedy of "almost indescribable proportions," the United States has sent a military force of up to 30,000 to achieve a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian relief. As President Bush explained:

In taking this action, I want to emphasize that I understand the United States alone cannot right the world's wrongs. But we also know that some crises in the world cannot be resolved without American involvement; that American action is often necessary as a catalyst for broader involvement of the community of nations. Only the United States has the global reach to place a large security force on the ground in such a distant place quickly and efficiently and thus save thousands of innocents from death.

Speaking before the United Nations after the adoption of Resolution 794 on December 3, 1992, Ambassador Edward J. Perkins assured the international community that the United States has no other objective and will begin the transition to a UN peace-keeping force as soon as possible. "Military intervention is no substitute for political reconciliation, and that task belongs firmly in the hands of Somalis," he said.

Citing the magnitude of the human tragedy in Somalia, the UN Security Council unanimously approved Resolution 794, welcoming the US offer of assistance and encouraging other states to participate. To date, 35 member states have responded.

Operation Restore Hope will serve another important function as well.

Ambassador Perkins told the Security Council:

By acting in response to the tragic events in Somalia, the international community is also taking an important step in developing a strategy for dealing with the potential disorder and conflicts of the post-Cold War world. This step must entail unprecedented levels of cooperation amongst the international community in response to urgent humanitarian needs and to peacekeeping, utilizing our respective military forces if necessary to do so.

Operation Restore Hope

The mission of the US-led coalition to Somalia is specific and limited: to create the security environment necessary to ensure the delivery of humanitarian relief to the Somali people. The US military force will secure ports, airports, and delivery routes and will protect storage and distribution of humanitarian supplies. US forces will remain in Somalia only as long as they are needed. Once the objectives are met, the coalition force will depart, transferring its security function to UN peace-keepers.

US Relief Efforts

The United States has been at the forefront of humanitarian assistance efforts and, so far, has provided about \$200 million and more than 300,000 tons of food. This humanitarian relief effort began in February 1991, when the United States coordinated its assistance effort with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), UN agencies, and private voluntary organizations. The Department of State declared that a civil strife disaster existed in Somalia for fiscal years 1991, 1992, and 1993, opening the way for disaster assistance.

Operation Restore Hope

United States: Up to 30,000 troops, including:

- 1st Marine Expeditionary Force (Camp Pendleton, CA)
- US Army 10th Mountain Division (Fort Drum, NY)
- Naval Mobile Construction Battalion 40 (Port Hueneme, CA)
- Naval Beach Group 1 (Coronado, CA)
- Elements of the 30th Naval Construction Regiment (Pearl Harbor, HI) □

During the past 18 months, the United States committed:

- More than \$125 million for food aid;
- \$40 million for medical assistance, supplemental feeding, rehabilitation, and support for our emergency airlift; and
- More than \$45 million for direct refugee assistance.

In August 1992, President Bush appointed a special coordinator for Somali relief and authorized the use of Defense Department aircraft to deliver food to inaccessible locations in northern Kenya and Somalia. The airlift, which was designed as a short-term, emergency measure, also uses civilian aircraft funded by the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance of the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Planners expect that once ports are open and overland transport becomes feasible, airlift operations will be terminated.



Background: Famine, War, and Refugees

Somalia is the site of Africa's worst famine disaster, and up to 3,000 people could be dying each week. Although the exact total is unknown, the United Nations estimates that more than 300,000 Somalis already have died. In addition, Somalia has the worst refugee problem in Africa, exacerbated by drought, famine, and almost constant warfare. About 900,000 Somalis have fled to Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. Hundreds of thousands of others are displaced internally.

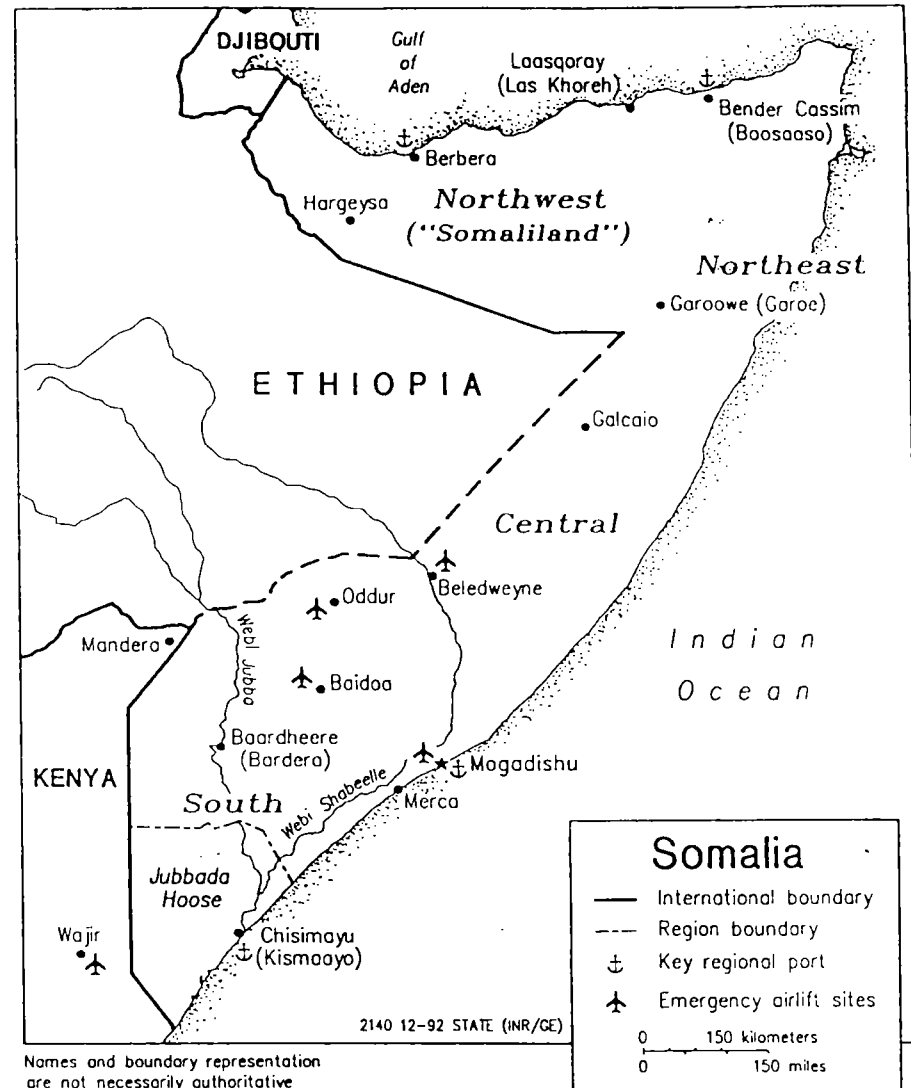
The ICRC estimates that 1.5 million Somalis—out of a population of 6.5 million—now face starvation, and as many as 4.5 million will require some type of assistance.

The government has virtually ceased to exist, the political future is uncertain, and warring clans control large chunks of the capital of Mogadishu and the countryside. In Mogadishu, two rival factions of the United Somali Congress—one loyal to Ali Mahdi and the other siding with General Aideed—are locked in a bitter power struggle. Conditions are somewhat better in the northeastern and northwestern parts of the country where local authorities retain some control and food shortages are less severe.

Because of the political instability, the US embassy and the USAID mission were evacuated in early January 1991. A US liaison office headed by Ambassador Robert Oakley, Special Envoy for Somalia, has been established in Mogadishu.

The Situation Deteriorates

Before the deployment of coalition forces, security conditions had deteriorated in almost every area in central and southern Somalia where UN agencies and non-governmental organizations are working. Ships had been shelled, warehouses and convoys looted, and relief workers injured or subjected to numerous death threats. Because of the growing instability in these areas, UN officials inside Somalia concluded that current relief methods



were inadequate. At latest report before coalition forces were deployed, conditions across the country were varied:

Mogadishu. Out of a total population of 1 million, the capital houses between 350,000 and 400,000 refugees, who are virtually without resources and completely dependent on the ICRC for food. Northern Mogadishu is controlled by Ali Mahdi, the Interim President of Somalia, while the southern sector is held by General Aideed.

Southern and Central Regions. Relief workers report extremely high levels of acute malnutrition, with the highest mortality rates in the country. In the city of Baidoa, for example, the

UN estimates that 39% of the displaced population has died since April, primarily from preventable and treatable illnesses like measles and dysentery.

Northwestern Region. Northwestern Somalia offers hope for a return to normal life, with relatively vibrant livestock production and progress in repairing structural damage. Relief workers have reported that the northwest needs rehabilitation assistance rather than emergency aid.

Northeastern Region. Conditions are generally better than in the southern and central regions, but political tensions remain. The principal port of Bender Cassim (Boosaaso) is functioning, and the city is one of few in Somalia with regular electricity. ■

Background to Operation Restore Hope

January 1991–December 8, 1992

1991

January 27—President Siad Barre is overthrown and forced to flee to his homeland in southwestern Somalia.

February 21—US provides funding to coordinate US Government assistance with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), UN agencies, and non-governmental organizations.

March 25—Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, declares that a civil strife disaster exists in Somalia.

June 12—US authorizes an emergency commitment (1,016 metric tons) to the Children Fund/US-UK.

July 1—US begins funding a *Medecins Sans Frontieres*/Holland land mine clearing project in northwestern Somalia.

August 27—US provides a grant of \$256,000 to Save the Children Fund/UK to fund maternal child health and therapeutic feeding centers in Mogadishu.

September 10—US provides a grant of \$463,846 to Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc. (CARE) for emergency food distribution in Mogadishu and northwestern Somalia.

September 27—US provides \$3 million to UNICEF for supplementary feeding and health programs in Somalia and rehabilitation of the water supply system in Hargeysa.

US authorizes emergency food commitment (12,210 metric tons) to the World Food Program for free distribution.

October—US begins funding the International Medical Corps to operate an emergency medical program in Mogadishu.

The United States gives a grant of \$245,630 to World Concern to operate a 6-month health program in Chisimayu (Kismaayo) and the Jubbada Hoose (Lower Juba) region.

US purchases \$56,240 in spare parts for rehabilitation of the Mogadishu water system.

US contributes \$5 million to UN High Commissioner for Refugees for repatriation of Somali refugees and \$2 million to the UN Children's Fund for activities in northern Somalia, including \$990,000 for rehabilitation of the Hargeysa water system.

November 15—US pledges 24,270 metric tons of rice, lentils, and oil for the ICRC's feeding programs in Somalia.

1992

January—US provides \$161,132 to the International Medical Corps to charter emergency relief flights of medical supplies into Mogadishu.

US gives \$221,008 to Save the Children Fund/UK to fund relief flights of food and medicine into Mogadishu.

January 23—UN Security Council passes Resolution 733, voting unanimously to urge an increase in humanitarian aid to Somalia and for the appointment of a coordinator to oversee delivery. The resolution urges the Secretary-General and other organizations to work with the warring factions in Somalia to permit aid to be delivered.

March—US provides a grant of \$383,500 to *Medecins Sans Frontieres*/France for an emergency medical program in Mogadishu.

March 17—UN Security Council passes Resolution 746, voting unanimously to urge the Somali factions to honor their commitments under the cease-fire agreements of March 3, 1992.

March 20—US signs an agreement with the ICRC to provide 24,270 metric tons of food aid.

April—US announces a pledge of 20,000 metric tons of sorghum to be given to the World Food Program for Somalia.

April 24—UN Security Council passes Resolution 751 by unanimous vote, establishing a UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and asking the Secretary-General to deploy 50 UN observers to monitor the cease-fire in Mogadishu. The resolution also approves the deployment of a UN security force in Somalia.

May—US provides a grant of \$2.2 million to the ICRC to support emergency airlifts of food into Beledweyne in central Somalia.

June—US gives a grant for \$1.4 million to the UN Development Program to provide air support for emergency operations.

US provides an additional grant for \$1.23 million to the International Medical Corps to expand its emergency medical programs in Mogadishu, Beledweyne, and other areas.

June 15—US authorizes an additional 10,000 metric tons of food aid for the ICRC, increasing the overall US commitment to 34,270 metric tons.



July—US gives a grant to the *Medecins Sans Frontieres*/France to operate a supplementary feeding program in Mogadishu, south of Mogadishu.

US provides \$274,000 to Save the Children/UK to continue its supplementary feeding program in Mogadishu for 6 months and provides \$312,500 to start a feeding program in Beledweyne.

July 23—50 UN cease-fire observers complete their deployment to Mogadishu as authorized by UNSC Resolution 751.

July 27—The UNSC unanimously adopts Resolution 767 urging the Secretary General to mount an airlift of food supplies, to dispatch a technical team to determine how UN security guards can be used to protect relief workers, and to convene a conference to work for political reconciliation.

July 29—US provides Catholic Relief Services with \$915,000 to move 3,000 metric tons of commodities from Kenya to southwestern Somalia.

July 31—US authorizes an emergency food commitment of 18,395 metric tons of wheat and 3,240 metric tons of corn to be sent to the World Food Program for free distribution and sales.

August—US gives a grant of \$640,700 to *Action Internationale Contre la Faim* to initiate food and water projects in Mogadishu.

August 12—Somali leaders agree to the deployment of UN security personnel under the direction of the UN Secretary General's Special Representative, Somali Ambassador Mohamed Sahnun.

August 13—President Bush authorizes the Department of Defense to offer a US military airlift to transport a UN guard force of 500 and its associated equipment to Somalia.

US pledges an additional 40,000 metric tons of sorghum.

August 14—US authorizes 105,000 metric tons of emergency food assistance worth \$46.6 million.

The United States announces an additional pledge of \$3 million to the ICRC to support food airlifts and veterinary programs, and to purchase agricultural implements and blankets.

August 16—President Bush appoints Andrew Natsios as Special Coordinator for Somali Relief. He is the Assistant Administrator in the Bureau for Food and Humanitarian Assistance at the US Agency for International Development. The President also announces an additional 145,000 metric tons of food aid for Somalia.

August 18—US Central Command establishes Joint Task Force Provide Relief in Mombasa, Kenya, to conduct emergency airlift of food supplies in northeastern Kenya and Somalia.

August 21—The US and Kenya announce the formation of a coordinating committee for "Operation Provide Relief" to deliver food to Somali refugees.

US begins airlift of emergency food supplies to refugees in Kenya.

August 25—President Bush authorizes release of \$15.2 million from the US Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to respond to the urgent needs of displaced persons in Somalia.

August 28—The US begins a military airlift of emergency food supplies into Somalia from Mombasa, Kenya.

August 28—The UN Security Council unanimously passes Resolution 775 endorsing the Secretary General's request for a security force of 3,500 to protect humanitarian relief efforts.

Ambassador Peter Jon de Vos is appointed US Special Envoy for Somalia to coordinate US support of UN efforts to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement of the Somalia conflict leading to national reconciliation.

September 14—An advance UN contingent of Pakistani troops arrives in Mogadishu to help protect relief supplies. United Nations authorizes 3,000 additional troops.

September 28—Final contingent of 500-man Pakistani infantry unit arrives in Mogadishu.

November 24—UN relief ship carrying 10,000 tons of food is shelled while trying to enter Mogadishu's harbor and returns to sea.

November 25—US offers troops to secure distribution of food and aid as part of a multinational force.

December 3—UN Security Council passes Resolution 794, voting unanimously for a US-led force to enter Somalia to safeguard relief work.

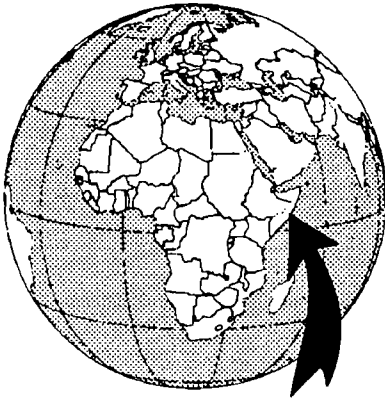
December 3-4—The UN Relief Coordination Conference for Somalia, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, begins process of relief, rehabilitation, and reconciliation in Somalia.

December 4—Ambassador Robert Oakley succeeds Ambassador Peter Jon de Vos as Special Envoy for Somalia. A US liaison office is established in Mogadishu.

December 4—President Bush announces that US troops will be sent to Somalia under Operation Restore Hope.

December 8—First contingent of US forces arrives in Somalia. ■

Somalia



Official Name:
Somali Democratic Republic

► Geography

Total area: 637,600 km; slightly smaller than Texas.

Climate: Hot and dry with seasonal monsoons.

Terrain: Central and southern Somalia are flat; northern Somalia is hilly.

Natural resources: Uranium and largely unexploited reserves of iron ore, tin, gypsum, bauxite, copper, salt.

Land use: Arable land 2%; meadows and pastures 46%; forest and woodland 14%; other 38%.

Environment: Recurring droughts; frequent dust storms over eastern plains in summer; deforestation; overgrazing; soil erosion; desertification. Famine is centered in southern half of country.

► People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Somali(s).

Population (1991): 6.7 million.

Ethnic groups: Somali 85%, rest mainly Bantu; Arabs 30,000, Europeans 3,000, Asians 800.

Religion: Almost entirely Sunni Muslim.

Language: Somali (official); Arabic, Italian, English.

Health (1991 est.): *Infant mortality rate*—116/1,000. (According to the Centers for Disease Control, about 25% of children under age five have died since January 1991 because of the effects of war, disease, and drought.) *Life expectancy*—56 yrs.

► Government

Capital: Mogadishu.

Independence: July 1, 1960 (from a merger of British Somaliland, which became independent from the UK on June 26, 1960, and Italian Somaliland, which became independent from the Italian-administered UN trusteeship on July 1, 1960, to form the Somali Republic).

Constitution: August 1979.

Administrative divisions: 16 regions.

Warring leaders: *General Mohamed Farah Aided* (one of the most powerful factional warlord leaders; belongs to Hawiye clan; controls much of famine zone through fragile alliances; has amassed forces to retake Baardheere, a city near the Kenya border); interim *President Ali Mahdi Mohamed* (Aided's erstwhile arch-rival, was once his ally in fight to oust Siad Barre; belongs to Hawiye clan. Aided and Ali Mahdi signed an agreement on December 11, 1992, calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities between their forces and the merging of their political organizations; final implementation was scheduled for December 19); *General Morgan* (recently wrested control of Baardheere from Aided; son-in-law of former dictator Siad Barre and member of the Darod clan; allegedly backed by Kenya); and *Colonel Jess* (allied with Aided despite being a member of the Darod clan; control over key port of Chisimayu (Kismaayo) is tenuous).

Flag: Light blue with a large white five-pointed star in the center.

► Economy

Overview as of December 1992:

One of the world's poorest and least developed countries, Somalia has few resources. Before the drought, agriculture was the most important sector of the economy, with the livestock sector accounting for about 40% of GDP and about 65% of export earnings. Nomads and semi-nomads dependent upon herding make up more than half of the population. Crop production generated only 10% of GDP and employed about 20% of the work force. The main export crop was bananas; sugar, sorghum, and corn were grown for the domestic market.

► Communications

Highways: 15,215 km. total; including 2,335 km. hard surface, 2,880 km. gravel, and 10,000 km. improved earth or stabilized soil.

Pipelines: 15 km. crude oil.

Ports: Mogadishu, Chisimayu (Kismaayo), Berbera.

Merchant marine: Consisted of 3 ships; 2 cargo, 1 refrigerated cargo.

Civil air: There were 2 major transport aircraft.

Airports: 61 total, 46 usable; 8 with permanent surface runways; 2 with runways longer than 3,659 meters; 5 with runways of 2,400-3,659 meters; 22 with runways of 1,220-2,439 meters.

Telecommunications: Virtually no telephone or telegraph service; radio relay and troposcatter system centered on Mogadishu connects a few towns; 6,000 telephones; stations—2 AM, no FM, 1 TV; 1 Indian Ocean INTELSTAT earth station; schedules to receive an ARABSAT station. ■



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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. chart	Other Forces Planning to Participate in Somalia (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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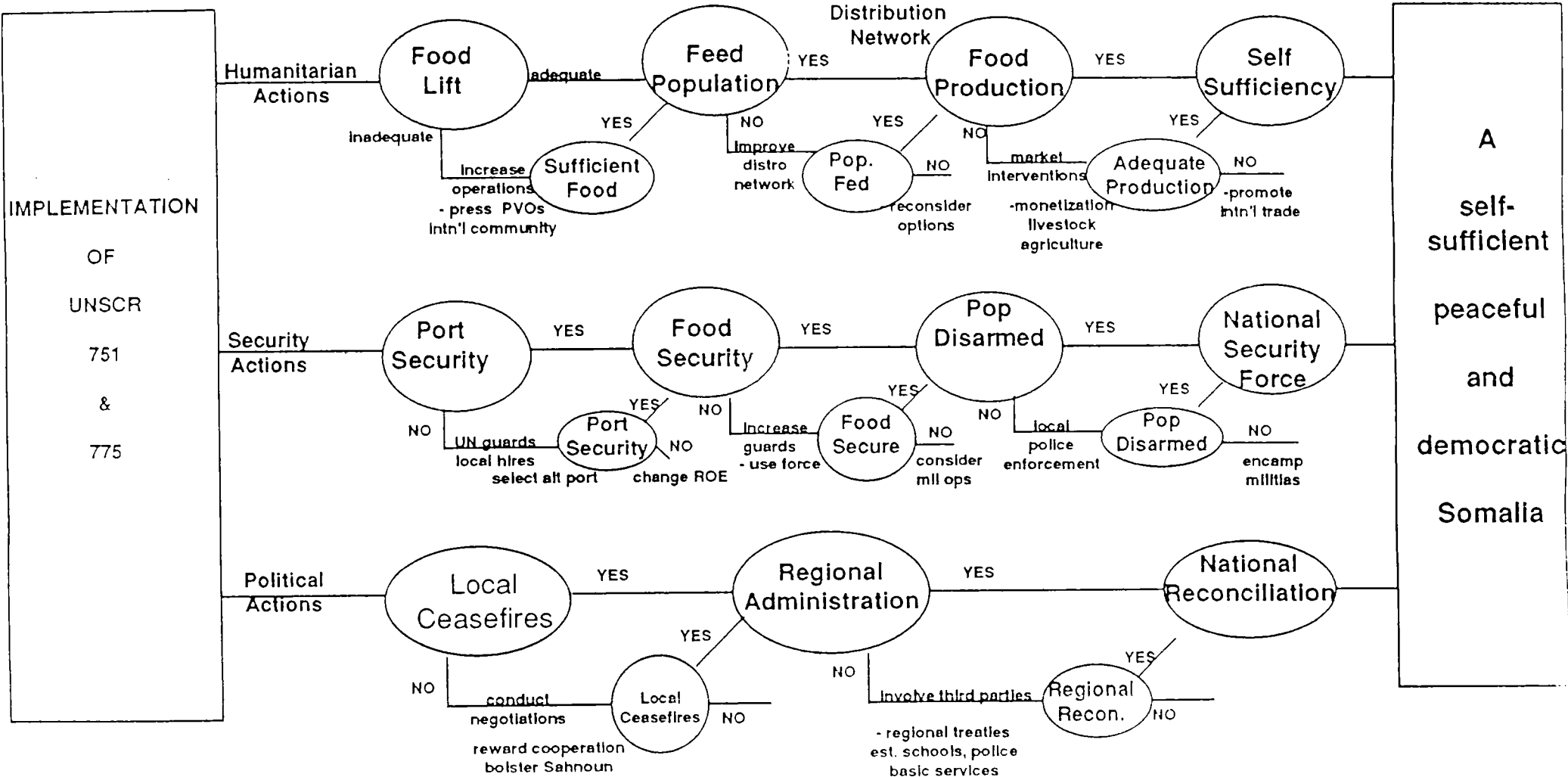
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Decision Points / Follow On Actions



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005a. timeline	Somalia Strategy Timeline (1 page)	00/00/1992	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005b. chart	[Duplicate of 003] (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005c. chart	[Duplicate of 004] (1 page)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

RESTRICTION CODES

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. paper	Medium Term Political Strategy in Somalia (5 pages)	00/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. cable	Re: Demobilization/Encampment of Militias (2 pages)	01/21/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. report	Re: [Somalia] (1 page)	01/25/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/24880*

3 December 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Draft resolution

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992, 746 (1992) of 17 March 1992, 761 (1992) of 24 April 1992, 767 (1992) of 27 July 1992 and 775 (1992) of 28 August 1992,

Recognizing the unique character of the present situation in Somalia and mindful of its deteriorating, complex and extraordinary nature, requiring an immediate and exceptional response,

Determining that the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being created to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and underlining the urgent need for the quick delivery of humanitarian assistance in the whole country,

Noting the efforts of the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, and in particular the proposal made by its Chairman at the forty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly for the organization of an international conference on Somalia, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other regional agencies and arrangements to promote reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia and to address the humanitarian needs of the people of that country,

Commending the ongoing efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations and of non-governmental organizations and of States to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Responding to the urgent calls from Somalia for the international community to take measures to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Somalia,

Expressing grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including reports of violence and threats of violence against personnel participating lawfully in impartial humanitarian relief activities; deliberate attacks on non-combatants, relief consignments and vehicles, and medical and relief facilities; and impeding the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population,

Displeased by the continuation of conditions that impede the delivery of humanitarian supplies to destinations within Somalia, and in particular reports of looting of relief supplies destined for starving people, attacks on aircraft and ships bringing in humanitarian relief supplies, and attacks on the Pakistani UNOSOM contingent in Mogadishu.

Taking note with appreciation of the letters of the Secretary-General of 24 November 1992 (S/24859) and of 29 November 1992 (S/24868),

Sharing the Secretary-General's assessment that the situation in Somalia is intolerable and that it has become necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort in Somalia, and that UNOSOM's existing course would not in present circumstances be an adequate response to the tragedy in Somalia,

Determined to establish as soon as possible the necessary conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Somalia, in conformity with resolutions 751 (1992) and 767 (1992),

Noting the offer by Member States aimed at establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible,

Determined further to restore peace, stability and law and order with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at national reconciliation in Somalia, and encouraging the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue and intensify their work at the national and regional levels to promote these objectives,

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their own country,

1. Reaffirms its demand that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease hostilities, maintain a cease-fire throughout the country, and cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as well as with the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below in order to promote the process of relief distribution, reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia;

/...

2. Demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and humanitarian organizations to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population in Somalia;

3. Also demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia take all measures necessary to ensure the safety of United Nations and all other personnel engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including the military forces to be established pursuant to the authorization given in paragraph 10 below;

4. Further demands that all parties, movements and factions in Somalia immediately cease and desist from all breaches of international humanitarian law including from actions such as those described above;

5. Strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia, including in particular the deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies essential for the survival of the civilian population, and affirms that those who commit or order the commission of such acts will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts;

6. Decides that the operations and the further deployment of the 3,500 personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) authorized by paragraph 3 of resolution 775 (1992) should proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General in the light of his assessment of conditions on the ground; and requests him to keep the Council informed and to make such recommendations as may be appropriate for the fulfilment of its mandate where conditions permit;

7. Endorses the recommendation by the Secretary-General in his letter of 29 November 1992 (S/24860) that action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be taken in order to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible;

8. Welcomes the offer by a Member State described in the Secretary-General's letter to the Council of 29 November 1992 (S/24860) concerning the establishment of an operation to create such a secure environment;

9. Welcomes also offers by other Member States to participate in that operation;

10. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Secretary-General and Member States cooperating to implement the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above to use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia;

/...

11. Calls on all Member States which are in a position to do so to provide military forces and to make additional contributions, in cash or in kind, in accordance with paragraph 10 above and requests the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which the contributions, where appropriate, could be channelled to the States or operations concerned;

12. Authorizes the Secretary-General and the Member States concerned to make the necessary arrangements for the unified command and control of the forces involved, which will reflect the offer referred to in paragraph 8 above;

13. Requests the Secretary-General and the Member States acting under paragraph 10 above to establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces;

14. Decides to appoint an ad hoc commission composed of members of the Security Council to report to the Council on the implementation of this resolution;

15. Invites the Secretary-General to attach a small UNOSOM liaison staff to the Field Headquarters of the unified command;

16. Acting under Chapters VII and VIII of the Charter, calls upon States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, to use such measures as may be necessary to ensure strict implementation of paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992);

17. Requests all States, in particular those in the region, to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken by States, nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, pursuant to this and other relevant resolutions;

18. Requests the Secretary-General and, as appropriate, the States concerned to report to the Council on a regular basis, the first such report to be made no later than fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution, on the implementation of this resolution and the attainment of the objective of establishing a secure environment so as to enable the Council to make the necessary decision for a prompt transition to continued peace-keeping operations;

19. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a plan to the Council initially within fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution to ensure that UNOSOM will be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command;

20. Invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Somalia;

21. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. report	Re: [Somalia] (8 pages)	01/12/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

2012-0659-F
ke4220

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. memo	Re: Presidential Review Directive XX-93: Somalia (1 page)	01/00/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Clarke, Richard)
OA/Box Number: 3827

FOLDER TITLE:

Somalia Files, 1992 - 1993 [loose] [15]

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15 January 1993

Please deliver
attached memo to

Mr. Richard Clarke, NSC Staff

Thank You.

Fax to: 202 395-1199
Tel: 202 395-5066

January 15, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO RICHARD CLARKE

FROM: Thomas Longstreth and Clark Murdock

Subject: Somalia Options Paper

Below we have outlined some issues that should be addressed in the options paper you are preparing.

UN Resolution

- As soon as possible, the Clinton team needs to send a clear message, both publicly and privately, to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and our key allies and other involved nations on the future U.S. role in Somalia. Its elements could include:

- The need to move forward on the Security Council resolution authorizing a new mandate for UNOSOM II.

- The accompanying requirement to proceed with detailed military planning, both in New York and Mogadishu, to facilitate the transition from UNITAF and UNOSOM II.

- Reassurances to the SYG and other nations that might contribute to UNOSOM II of the Clinton Administration's commitment to the success of the overall humanitarian mission, both UNITAF and UNOSOM.

- Our assurance that we will not withdraw our forces prematurely.

- Our specific commitment to UNOSOM II of substantial numbers of logistics support personnel and a "Quick Reaction Force."

U.S. Support for UNOSOM II

- Associated with any U.S. commitment to provide a substantial logistics support element and a "quick reaction force" for UNOSOM II are two near-term issues.

- First, our promise of support may require near-term legislative relief from two provisions of the United Nations Participation Act -- the 1,000 man ceiling and the question of bringing U.S. forces under the command of a foreign power -- if the resolution is invoked under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, as we are proposing.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

-- Second, there should be no illusions about who our remaining "logistics" troops are, they will be well armed and prepared to defend themselves as needed. They will be exposed to the same risks as are the combat forces currently in Somalia. The longer we retain any types of forces in Somalia, the greater likelihood there is that we will have additional casualties and growing domestic pressure to bring all of our people home.

Mission Creep.

- We should continue to resist efforts to expand the mission of UNITAF significantly beyond its mission statement.

-- **Disarmament.** This has been a recurring problem in our interaction with the UNSYG. The disarmament issue has largely been worked out to mutual satisfaction, but we must continue to resist UN pressures that UNITAF have as its objective "full and complete" disarmament in Somalia.

-- **Expansion to the North.** Any suggestion that U.S. forces are prepared to conduct operations in Northern Somalia should be avoided.

Training and Equipping a Somali Police Force.

- Another area of potential "mission creep" pertains to the issue of who should train and equip the Somali police force.

-- It should be pointed out in the memo that the U.S. military opposes taking the lead on this function, since this, too, would enlarge the mission which U.S. forces were given.

-- There are other viable alternatives, such as having Germany or Jordan provide the trainers, and we should be pressing to see those happen.